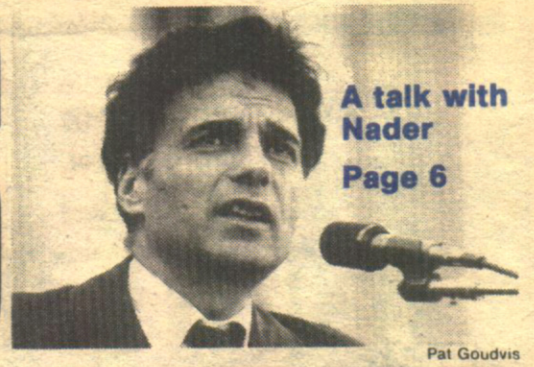


# IN THESE TIMES



A talk with  
Nader  
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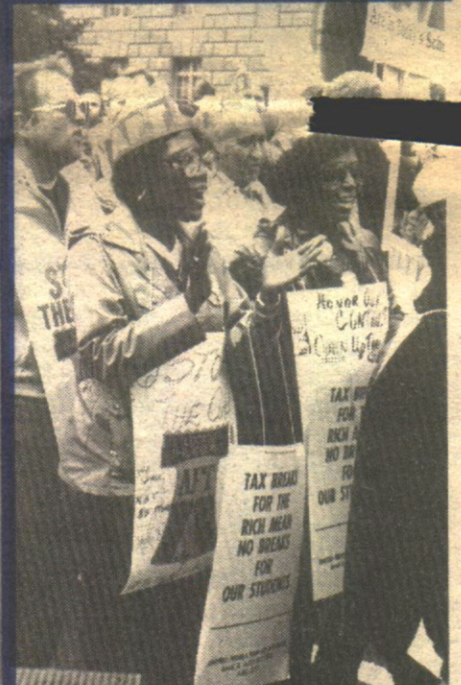
## IT TAKES ALL KINDS

SOLIDARITY

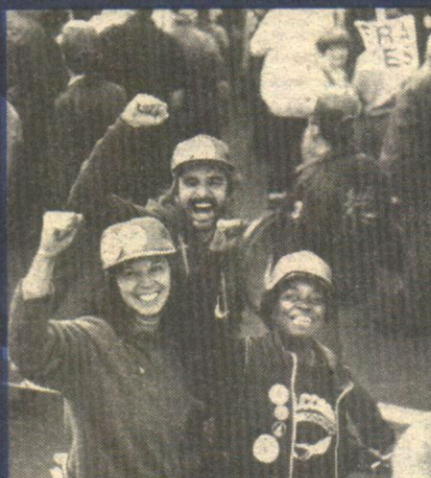
DAY SOLIDARITY



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SOLIDARITY



## TO MAKE A MARCH

Paul Du Brul on the  
New York primary

Photos by Steve Cagan

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# THE INSIDE STORY



A helicopter sprays malathion over Los Angeles.

## Malathion is only half the Medfly story

By Thomas Brom

OAKLAND, CA

Every Thursday night the helicopters come, dumping a light rain of malathion over the neighborhood. They sweep over the housetops in sets of three, the first piercing the night sky with a huge searchlight. At first it frightened Mrs. Thompson across the street. Now she worries about the commercial fruit growers like she owned stock in Sunkist.

The Committee to Stop Aerial Spraying still protests, and in the past month at least three helicopters have been creased by gunfire. But by now most Bay Area residents in the 1,300-square-mile infestation zone are resigned to the state's \$100 million spraying campaign against the Mediterranean fruit fly.

But there is a second front in the Medfly battle still largely hidden from public view. It involves fumigation of fresh-picked fruit with ethylene dibromide (EDB) or methyl bromide—both highly toxic gases that can alter cell growth in laboratory animals.

Early in the Medfly eradication campaign, growers and state agriculture officials knew that fumigation would be part of the counterattack. Japan and several Eastern states then forced the issue by refusing to accept California produce unless it was either fumigated or put in cold storage to kill any fruit fly larvae.

This summer growers began a crash campaign to build fumigation chambers, which must then be inspected and certified by state health officials. Despite the extra costs—estimated by Dr. Charles Hess of UC Davis at \$500 million for construction and \$38 million yearly for operation—things went smoothly.

But several weeks ago, a metro stevedore crew in Long Beach harbor noticed four strange looking containers being unloaded on the docks. They looked like 40-foot trailer boxes, but were equipped with meters and tall exhaust stacks at one end. The portable boxes belonged to Sunkist Growers.

Sunkist said it planned to fumigate thousands of cartons of lemons with EDB, then have International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union workers unload them in ships bound for Japan. ILWU Local 13 quickly consulted union headquarters and Cal OSHA offices in San Francisco, finding out that EDB "off-gases" from the lemons and the cartons they are shipped in for as long as 15 days. Relying on a state labor code that gives workers the right to refuse jobs in hazardous conditions, the longshore crews then walked off the job.

"All we know is that EDB affects your kidneys and lungs and can make you sterile," says Local 13 president Louis Rios. "Sunkist wanted us to put one gang

down in the hold for a controlled testing period. The Long Beach health department said they'd check out the conditions, but wanted us to work in there first. Our men won't load those lemons until someone can guarantee us 100 percent they won't be affected.

Sunkist was fit to be tied. It ships 100 million cartons of lemons—50 percent of the crop, worth \$65 million—to Japan each year. Fumigating with methyl bromide instead of EDB was not an option because it damages the fruit. The company immediately called in Cal OSHA, federal OSHA and local health officials to convince the union to work.

The meetings quickly revealed a split between the state and federal OSHA staffs on the safety of EDB. The pesticide is a known carcinogen and mutagen and a suspected cause of birth defects and sterility in animals. As a result, exposure levels are measured in parts per billion, not the more usual parts per million. The California standard is 130 parts per billion—but since ocean-going ships are in federal jurisdiction, the federal standard of 200 parts per billion applied to the ILWU.

Adding to the confusion, Cal OSHA had realized that widespread fumigation would be part of the Medfly counterattack and attempted this summer to limit exposure to only 15 parts per billion. The state Office of Administrative Law then rejected that standard as unwarranted by existing toxicological data—an unusual judgment for an agency limited to matters of law. Angered by the conflicting standards, Local 13 refused to budge.

"What we want is a 100 percent guarantee," Rios says. "They've promised us everything but that."

The union soon spread the word about the dangers of EDB to other affected workers. Teamster Local 692 in Long Beach announced its support of the boycott, followed by the Wilmington local of the Sailors Union of the Pacific.

Sunkist briefly checked out the possibility of requesting help from the National Guard, but the governor's office replied it would not get involved in a labor dispute. Then, working with the California Department of Food and Agriculture (CDFA), the company drew up a compromise plan.

"Sunkist agreed to withdraw the chambers to company property," says Don Vial, director of the State Department of Industrial Relations. "Using its own research personnel, the company will fumigate produce in Ontario, Calif. The carton will be off-gassed for one to three days, loaded onto flatbed trucks, stored in ventilated warehouses and swung into the holds on open pallets. The men in the ship will be protected by a mechanical ventilator system, charcoal masks if the gas remains within OSHA limits and self-contained breathing apparatus if the gas goes above OSHA standards.

"However," Vial adds, "we cannot offer the workers a 100 percent guarantee. No one can."

### Slated for obsolescence.

Precisely because EDB is so toxic, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) had been re-evaluating the pesticide through a review process known as RPAR—rebuttable presumption against registration. The process of testing and soliciting documentation began in 1977 and ended with a judgment on Dec. 10, 1980, that EDB would be severely restricted until July, 1983, when it would be banned for use.

But a scientific advisory panel changed all that when Ann Gorsuch took over EPA earlier this year. "The new administration looked at the risk assessment in the documents, and found it to be excessive," says Dr. Peter Kurtz, coordinator of worker health and safety

for CDFA. "I believe there is an adequate margin of protection with EDB. The cases are just not there—you can't convert a statistical probability into an incidence rate. Nothing is totally safe in the workplace."

CDFA is acting quickly on that judgment. Frank Stegmiller, the man who certifies new fumigation chambers in the department, says there are now about 30 approved chambers in the state.

"Hysteria is now developing around fumigation just as it developed earlier on malathion," Stegmiller says. "We have these adamant environmentalists at Cal OSHA taking an absolutely extreme position on EDB. We don't even have the technical equipment to measure EDB at 15 parts per billion! Without fumigation, we would not have food. It's that simple."

Stegmiller explains that Japan has imported fumigated produce for years because it has its own problems controlling oriental fruit flies. He also says U.S. workers in Texas and Florida have fumigated produce for decades without apparent effect. "How are these ILWU workers different?" he asks. "They are boycotting an entire industry and we are concerned."

### Look in your lemon.

Though most of the controversy surrounding EDB centers on the dangers to food handlers from off-gassing, the pesticide is dangerous to others as well. Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers officials say that the only men permitted to manufacture EDB at one company are those already made sterile by the production of the now-banned DBCP.

Consumers also share in the risks. Stegmiller admits that there are two phases in the fumigation process—one involving off-gassing of the vapor and one involving a chemical change in the fruit itself. "EDB actually permeates through the commodity," he says, "becoming an inorganic bromine salt in the fruit. It is assimilated by the body, and then thrown off as a waste." OSHA has no jurisdiction over this aspect of the process.

Nevertheless, fumigation appears to be very much on the agenda for California agribusiness. Part of the money allocated for the Medfly eradication effort is now going to an experimental fumigation chamber project conducted by the University of California Extension for Cal OSHA.

"We're supposed to supply data on what happens to the workers when the chamber doors are opened," says one project member. "Cal OSHA wants the numbers pretty fast. People are not acting like EDB is going to be banned in two years."

Sunkist spokeswoman Anne Warring says that company scientists began working on fumigation chambers last December, six months before any country had imposed a quarantine. "Cold storage won't work for citrus," she says, "because the rind breaks down and decay spores can enter. Gamma radiation is still in the experimental stage—we don't expect it to be ready for use soon. We will continue to fumigate regardless of what the ILWU decides to do."

Anticipating a stalemate, Sunkist will begin shipments this week to Gulf Coast ports in Texas and Florida—or to Mexico—where the ILWU does not have jurisdiction. The International Longshoremen's Association of the East and Gulf Coasts "will load anything," according to one disgruntled trade unionist here.

But ILWU Local 13 in Long Beach believes that other workers who handle fumigated produce—and consumers—will support their boycott. "If you cut open a lemon and find a live Medfly worm, you're OK," says Louis Rios. "But if you find a dead one, you have to worry!"

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IN THESE TIMES

# Their first march may not be their last



By David Moberg and John Judis

WASHINGTON

**D**AVE WILLIAMS, A MIDDLE-aged machinist who works in the Pratt-Whitney jet engine factory in Southington, Conn., looked out at the stream of green-and-white shirted members of AFSCME who were marching by, chanting, "We're fired up, we can't take no more." He was surrounded by about 400 other members of the 2,000-worker local that he serves as recording secretary, waiting to take their turn in the parade of labor on Solidarity Day.

"I've never been to a march before," he remarked. "It feels good."

With at least a quarter-million, perhaps as many as 400,000 marchers, organized labor had reason to feel good about the first major Washington demonstration that it had ever called, let alone actively supported. Even in the days before, many of labor's leaders had privately wondered if they could pull it off. But with a mighty expenditure of organizational effort and at least five million dollars, the nation's major unions—except for the Teamsters—tapped a solid vein of working-class resentment against what they see as a fundamental unfairness of the Reagan administration.

But the crowd was noteworthy for more than its numbers. Unlike the participants at the great protests of the '60s, the marchers at Solidarity Day were overwhelmingly working class. Blacks as well as women were fully represented, reflecting their growing importance in the labor movement. And because of a newfound willingness of the AFL-CIO leaders to seek allies among the movements that arose in the '60s, middle-class feminists from NOW, civil rights proponents from the NAACP, environmentalists from Environmental Action and socialists from the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) and New American Movement (NAM) marched alongside many people who had recoiled in horror at the demonstrations of 10 or 15 years ago.

Williams doubted that the march would have much immediate effect, but he said, "If he [Reagan] don't straighten out soon, there will be armed revolution."

AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland had called the Sept. 19 demonstration partly in response to pressure from local union

Williams caught some of the mood of the crowd in describing why his union local made the long bus trip to Washington: "They're sick and tired of this stupid bastard running this country. Mr. Robin Hood in reverse. Take from the poor and give to the rich. Next week he'll say: 'Let 'em eat cake.'"

Reagan is a "threat to social security, a threat to our jobs and a threat to our unions, with the way he treated the air controllers," Williams said. Even though he and his fellow workers build engines for the F-15 and F-14 jet fighters, he favors cutbacks in the military "to some extent." He's also angry at companies like Pratt-Whitney for exporting jobs and importing more and more component parts.

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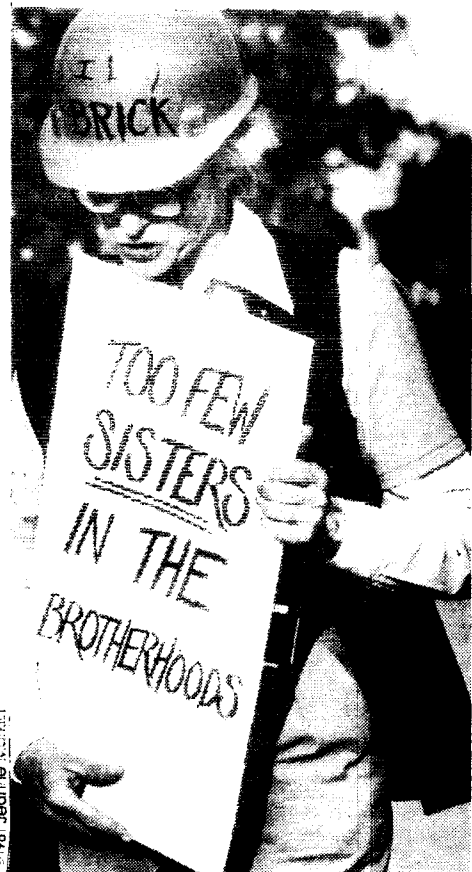
AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland had called the Sept. 19 demonstration partly in response to pressure from local union

activists like Williams, to demonstrate that the AFL-CIO leadership does speak for the nation's workers and disadvantaged. As many of the marchers acknowledged, there were friends back in the shop who were still sympathetic to Reagan for promising tax cuts and attacking social welfare programs, but the Solidarity rally made it clear that many in the core of the labor movement—the local officers, the shop stewards, the activist members—have no sympathy for Reaganism. If anything they were more critical of Reagan than their leaders and more willing to take militant action.

One issue where the difference was most apparent was the size of the defense budget. Kirkland and his assistant Tom Kahn are both long-time Cold Warriors who have backed Reagan's arms buildup. In the initial stages of organizing Solidarity Day, Kahn had even tried to prevent DSOC from becoming a sponsor because of its opposition to increased defense spending. But at the August AFL-CIO executive council meeting, Douglas Fraser of the United Auto Workers (UAW), with the support of AFSCME's Jerry Wurf and the Machinists' William Wipisinger, won council agreement for a mild statement decrying possible waste in the defense budget.

At the rally, the labor speakers simply avoided the issue. Wipisinger, the most outspoken defense critic, was not permitted to speak. Another labor leader omitted criticism of the defense build-up from the final draft of his speech. It took black leaders Benjamin Hooks of the NAACP

Continued on page 8



## The view from one local

Nearly 400 members of an amalgamated New York City local of electrical workers mainly involved in defense-related work (OUE Local 431) made their way to Solidarity Day. Their anger was not atypical.

"For the worker who's going to be retired in 10 to 15 years, for the worker who's going to take disability, Reagan's social security plans are a problem," Irv Cohen, 50, a short, round, balding and jovial shop steward, said. "Also, OSHA is very important. I don't think there's much support for Reagan in our local, but Carter was a total loss."

Cohen liked the demonstration, but "what this country needs is a one-day walkout."

"A nationwide strike for one day," Sam Miller, 57, another shop committee member echoed.

"Union leaders are going to have to have guts," James Barton, 43, a black

trustee of the local added.

"This should have been done before the cuts," Miller said. "But on Oct. 1, when the cuts are felt, that's when you'll see the reaction, when the handicapped are affected, the old people are affected. People are going to get fed up. I think you're going to see riots. The only reason you haven't until now is food stamps—circuses and bread. You'll have more crime and people will be afraid to walk the streets. But Reagan may be one of the best things that's happened to the U.S. It will wake people up."

"Even though we do defense work and we've got jobs, we're hurt by cuts in social spending," Cohen said.

"We've got jobs," Barton said, "but we feel for others."

Would you be in favor of cutting the defense budget?

"Absolutely, yes," Cohen and the others chorused. "You build these wea-

pons and somebody's going to use them."

"You can't eat the MX," Barton said. "When you see all these people here, you know something's wrong."

Miller had little enthusiasm for any politicians. "The Democrats, whatever Reagan said, they went along with it," he said. "O'Neill said he was defeated before it even happened. This demonstration may not have an impact on Reagan, but it will scare the Congress. They're coming up for election. When they see us, this is votes—hard votes. The only time we'll get change in this country is when we get a third force, a party made of all unions in the country or like in New York when unions had the American Labor Party."

What do you think of the current leadership of the labor movement?

"Weak," Sam said.

"Weak," Irv echoed.

"The leadership shouldn't have let PATCO down. They should have had a nationwide strike like they do in Poland," Barton said. "It just makes them weaker."

—D.M. & J.J.



## SHORT

## Life irritates art

The *Atlanta Weekly* magazine recently decided to spice up its coverage of Atlanta's unspectacular mayoral race by requiring each candidate to resolve a thorny problem in a matter of hours. The hypothetical situation concocted by the *Weekly* had a black, PUSH-style group making quota-hiring demands on major corporations based in the city. In response, the corporate leaders had threatened to pull up stakes and move to a nearby suburb that offered them an attractive tax subsidy and a cozy deal in an industrial park. The mayoral aspirant's mission, should he decide to accept it, was to explain in writing how he, as mayor, would handle this scenario—in the three hours before the business nabobs held a press conference.

In mid-afternoon the *Weekly* dropped off a questionnaire at the office of each candidate, including former U.N. ambassador Andrew Young. Things were going smoothly until a hitch developed with tire dealer J.K. Ramey, a maverick right-wing candidate who easily clears six feet in height and has been known to favor string ties and cowboy hats. When a photographer arriving at Ramey's office made the mistake of saying "I'm here to shoot you for the magazine," the would-be mayor—an outspoken opponent of the criminal element—drew his gun and backed the visitor up against the wall. It was evidently a problem of semantics.

## Church v. state

In what the Abortion Rights Mobilization (ARM) calls "a startling attempt to overthrow a traditional safeguard of church-state separation," the National Conference of Catholic Bishops/U.S. Catholic Conference has asked a federal court in New York to declare a crucial tax law unconstitutional. The law now under attack by the Catholic hierarchy, Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code, prohibits tax-exempt organizations from using their money or facilities (such as church-funded newspapers) to intervene directly in political campaigns.

"This attack by a leading religious group," says ARM president Lawrence Lader, "would seriously endanger the First Amendment prohibition against religious intervention in political campaigns that has been an American tradition for 200 years." ARM went into federal court last fall to ask that the Catholic Church's tax-exempt status be removed because of continued violations of 501(c)(3). In recent memoranda to the federal court, the Church has responded by arguing that the law itself is unconstitutional and should be overthrown.

## Cowboy giver

As schoolchildren resigned themselves to ketchup sandwiches with a side order of relish, corporate diners were chuckling over their publicly subsidized desserts. The reason: While direct spending in certain areas has been cut back, \$266 billion in indirect spending (in the form of tax expenditures) have been left untouched by the Reagan administration's budget ax. *The Untouchables*, a study released recently by Common Cause, provides the following examples of this ambidextrous spending policy:

- Government spending to subsidize housing for low-income families was reduced for 1982, but tax expenditures, or loopholes, encouraging homeownership went unscathed.
- Though children from middle-income families will lose eligibility for federally funded lunch programs, tax benefits will keep flowing to corporate employees who lunch at the partial expense of all taxpayers.
- Three million retired workers will lose their minimum social security benefits next February, but employers who set up pension plans for their employees will continue to enjoy special tax benefits.
- And while the government has chopped off a third of its program to warn Americans about the health risks of smoking, the tax system will go on supporting ads for tobacco products.

The rest of this sad story is available from Common Cause at 2030 M Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20036.

## Hobby hoarse

Mark I. Pinsky reports that Wilbur Hobby, the activist president of the North Carolina AFL-CIO who became the target of a federal prosecution for alleged mishandling of two CETA programs (*In These Times*, Aug. 26), was defeated for re-election on Sept. 18 at the state AFL-CIO's annual convention in Raleigh, N.C. Hobby's trial, postponed several times because of his ill health and this election, is scheduled to begin on Dec. 7. Before the voting, supporters of both candidates acknowledged that the primary factor in the contest was the legal action pending against the former tobacco worker.

—Josh Kornbluth



Fowler shakes a hand that feeds him at a recent convention of broadcasters.

## New FCC chair has small ideas

Federal Communications Commission (FCC) chair Mark Fowler, a broadcast industry lawyer before his recent appointment, seems to want to be one again—soon. In a move untypical of Washington bureaucrats, he has led the commission in a request to Congress to shrink his agency drastically.

He and four other commissioners (with Democratic holdover Joseph Fogarty dissenting and just-appointed Henry Rivera abstaining) recommended on Sept. 17 that the commission be directed, in any rewrite of the Communications Act of 1934, to rely not on regulation but "on marketplace forces" to set standards for broadcast, phone, satellite and telegraph industries.

The biggest catch in the argument is that classic free-market forces in information simply do not exist. Decades of pro-industry regulation have fostered superpowers like AT&T and the television broadcast corporations. Vertical integration is strong in the cable industry, as is cross-ownership (for instance, 32 percent of cable systems are owned by broadcasters).

The commission also called for Congress to repeal equal time and "reasonable access" laws, which require equal opportunity for major political candidates on the air; and to repeal the fairness doctrine, which requires that opposing sides of a controversy be aired. Among other recommendations, the new FCC also endorsed a Senate proposal to end an aspiring license applicant's right to file a petition to deny TV license renewal as long as "minimal standards" are being met by the present licensee.

Friends of the Fairness Doctrine—a Washington, D.C., advocacy group including more than 30 media reform groups, along with religious, labor, women's, consumer and other organizations—has protested the recommendations, charging that "the FCC has become the lobbying arm of the broadcasting industry." It cited Supreme Court decisions in 1969 and 1981 upholding the constitutionality of the fairness doctrine and its importance in protecting First Amendment rights.

Fowler has eagerly endorsed the notion of pro-big-business deregulation since he was nominated for his new post. But with this series of

recommendations he has gone further, encouraging a fundamental restructuring—a reduction in power and size—of the FCC.

Perhaps he, like James (Mr. Apocalypse) Watt, just isn't worried about the future.

(Friends of the Fairness Doctrine can be reached c/o Deborah Costlow, Media Access Project, 1609 Connecticut Ave., NW, Washington, D.C., 20009, (202) 232-4300.)

—Pat Aufderheide

## Day eight at the Diablo blockade

SAN LUIS OBISPO, CA—As of day eight of the action, protests against the Diablo nuclear plant continued despite the arrest on trespassing charges of 1,400 people who had blockaded entrances to the facility for more than a week. The blockade was expected to last at least until the end of September, though the Abalone Alliance, the coalition of antinuclear groups that organized the civil disobedience action, claimed that "no end is in sight."

Among those arrested were San Francisco black activist Rev. Cecil Williams and rock singer Jackson Browne, a long-time nuclear foe who has given several benefit performances for the Abalone group.

During a lull over the Sept. 19-20 weekend, 5,000 local residents, who had not joined the blockade, marched past the main gate to show their disapproval of the plant.

While people continued to join the blockade, the overall numbers dwindled after nearly a quarter of the estimated 2,500 participants in the protest were arrested on Sept. 15. By Sept. 22, about 400 people remained at Abalone's outdoor headquarters, located 15 miles north of the plant. Efforts by county officials to close down the camp were delayed by Abalone attorneys.

Meanwhile, rough handling by

arresting officers had apparently declined since a state highway patrolman pointed a cocked rifle at a group of protesters on Sept. 18. After the incident, blockade organizers received an apology from the state police commissioner; meetings with law-enforcement officials were also held to reduce the rising level of tension. But Abalone did compile "about a dozen instances of documented brutality" and was considering filing a formal complaint, spokesperson Mark Evanoff said.



The state police commissioner has apologized for brutality against protesters.

The Nuclear Regulatory Commission decision on Sept. 21 to approve reactor testing at the plant did not dim Abalone hopes, according to spokesperson Jim Adams. "We're disappointed with the ruling, but not surprised," Adams said. "From the calls we've received since the decision, it appears that more people will join us. So this may just add fuel to the fire as far as we are concerned."

—G. Pascal Zachary



Isabel Letelier at the dedication of a monument to her late husband and Ronni Moffitt.

## Letelier death is commemorated

"I was advised many times not to come accept this award," Jacobo Timmerman, former prisoner of the Argentine junta and author of *Prisoner without a Name, Cell without a Number*, told the 200 people who had gathered for brunch Sept. 20 at Washington's

Georgetown Hotel to see him receive the Institute for Policy Studies' fifth annual Letelier-Moffitt Human Rights Award. "But I decided to come personally because of that. The slander against you must not prevent me from expressing my solidarity with this institute and paying my respects to Orlando Letelier and Ronni Karpen Moffitt."

Letelier, the former ambassador for Allende's Chile and later the director of IPS' Transnational Institute, and Moffitt, a co-worker at IPS, were murdered Sept. 21, 1976, when a bomb planted by agents of the Chilean Secret Police exploded in Letelier's car. This year's recipients of the award in their memory were Timmerman and the Maryknoll Sisters, two of whose members were assassinated in El Salvador last December.

Sister Blaise Luppó, in accepting the award for the sisters, made clear that the assassinations would not deter the order from carrying out its mission in third world countries. "We work for human rights because we have come to understand God in that way," she said.

Prior to the brunch for Timmerman and the Maryknoll Sisters, Letelier and Moffitt's colleagues at IPS dedicated a small monument to them, erected on the corner of Sheridan Square where they were assassinated. With the shadow of Reagan's foreign policies hanging over the small gathering, a local singing group intoned, "This is a mean world to try to live in until you die."

—John Judis



# IN THE NATION

By Paul Du Brul

NEW YORK

**N**OT EVERYTHING WENT wrong for insurgent Democrat Frank Barbaro in last week's crazy quilt New York mayoral primary. It didn't snow, for instance.

But despite last-minute thunderstorms, broken voting machines, a 10-to-1 spending imbalance and an unprecedented court-ordered postponement of the original Sept. 10 primary that radically altered the shape of the final election, Barbaro finished with 210,000 votes—a surprising 36 percent of the turnout.

So while the media were frantically declaring a “landslide” for incumbent Ed Koch—who won both the Democratic and Republican nominations—a pugnacious air of victory ran through the 500 Barbaro supporters who had gathered to watch the returns in the auditorium of Local 1199 of the Hospital and Health Care Workers Union. A few days before, 40,000 signatures had been submitted, which guaranteed Barbaro a place on the November ballot as candidate of the labor-backed Unity Party. Roaring chants of “unity, unity” and “November, November” greeted the speeches of leading supporters like Bella Abzug, Barry Commoner and Central Labor Council president Harry Van Arsdale.

Barbaro himself told the crowd that they had “given birth to a new political movement” in the city and he emphasized the support of the “beautiful coalition” that he had sought to build throughout the campaign: labor, blacks and Hispanics, tenants, women and gays.

Political insiders were sincerely impressed with the Barbaro showing, especially because he began the race as a virtual unknown and lacked funds not only for television ads but also even a rudimentary radio campaign. Despite these handicaps Barbaro quickly showed himself an effective and appealing campaigner. And on the few occasions when the media covered him independently, as well as in the final candidate debates, he projected a strong down-to-earth appeal.

## A legal bombshell.

But the Barbaro campaign was badly hurt by several late developments. Key insurgent candidates running with Barbaro, especially Ismael Betancourt, a candidate for Bronx borough president, were knocked off the ballot by the local machine. Then two days before the scheduled election, a bombshell landed: several minority plaintiffs had challenged the redistricting plan drawn up for the 43-member city council. They charged that the lines, while protecting minority incumbents, would leave black and Hispanic representation at 17 percent of the council while the 1980 census showed that minorities had grown to 47 percent of the city's population.

The lawyers arguing the case urged that the entire primary be postponed until the U.S. Justice Department, which has jurisdiction over three New York counties under provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, had a chance to evaluate the lines. Most observers had expected the federal district court to allow the election to proceed, or, at most, order a delay only for the challenged council elections. Instead, they ordered the primary postponed, and in a last-minute hearing, were upheld by the Supreme Court. The city's lawyers—headed by corporation counsel Allen Schwartz, Koch's former law partner—moved rapidly in Washington to clear away technical aspects of non-compliance such as changes in polling places. With these resolved, Schwartz then went to the state legislature and had them set a new primary date for all offices except the city council. Despite bitter opposition by the minority caucuses, the legislature saved the city's demands.

Thus left Barbaro, said several other



Ed Koch won, as expected, but challenger Frank Barbaro made a surprisingly strong showing, particularly in some Hispanic districts.

## Minorities, at least, got the message

candidates like Elizabeth Holtzman, former senate candidate now running for Brooklyn district attorney, in a tight bind. Much of their appeal was aimed at voters, especially blacks and union members, who don't traditionally participate in primaries. With a number of hotly contested city council primaries—many in black districts—now indefinitely postponed, and the electorate totally confused on when to vote, there was a good chance that these nontraditional voters would stay home, handing an easy victory to the Democratic machine, which always manages to deliver their 20 percent of the vote on primary day.

That is pretty much what happened. Only 32 percent of the 1.8 million registered Democrats went to the polls on Sept. 22, a significant falloff from the 46 percent who voted in the hotly contested 1977 mayoral primary. And while Barbaro garnered 70 percent of the black vote, the total black turnout was low except in Manhattan where David Dinkens was running for borough president. (Dinkens came within 5 points of defeating well-financed incumbent Andrew Stein despite losses of minority population in Manhattan because of growing gentrification.)

In Brooklyn, Elizabeth Holtzman saw a significant early lead evaporate as her

## Barbaro did not run well among white municipal workers, despite Koch's constant sniping at the city's workforce.

lackluster opponent mounted a well-financed, sexist attack on her ability to be an effective prosecutor. Ed Koch, who has been carrying on a bitter anti-Holtzman vendetta since last year's senate election—when he endorsed her Republican opponent after failing to stop her from winning the Democratic nomination—jumped in when Holtzman seemed to be faltering and endorsed her rival in the last week. It almost worked, but she managed to eke out a victory with 52 percent of the vote—and 2-to-1 margins in black districts.

Barbaro also did extremely well among

Hispanics, though every Hispanic elected official in the city endorsed Koch. But Barbaro's appeals to the white working-class were much less successful, despite his endorsement by the Central Labor Council and many of its largest constituent unions. For instance, he ran poorly in areas with high concentrations of municipal workers, despite Koch's constant sniping at the city's workforce and his attempts to break last year's transit strike. On Staten Island, where many municipal union members live and which also has a large population of Italian-Americans, Koch got 70 percent of the vote.

Another approach to the same constituency was Barbaro's emphasis on tenant issues. He characterized Koch as the “landlord's candidate” and cited the mayor's strong support for rent increases and fuel pass-alongs and detailed massive campaign contributions Koch had received from landlords and landlord groups. Seventy percent of city residents live in rental housing. But in white renter areas, Koch maintained margins of 2-to-1 against Barbaro. (The weakness of tenant identification is further underlined by the defeat of John Dearie, an outspoken pro-tenant Bronx assemblyman, who ran for city controller against scandal-scarred incumbent Harrison Goldin. Well-financed, and with the support of the council machine, Dearie still lost overwhelmingly.)

Barbaro also hammered away at the sharp decline in city services in the wake of the “fiscal crisis,” especially the near-collapse of mass transit and the loss of 10,000 cops. But an NBC poll on primary day showed that two out of three voters actually believed that city services had improved or remained the same during Koch's term. The one-third who felt there had been a decline voted overwhelmingly for Barbaro.

## New York's “dirty little secret.”

The final vote makes several things clear. First, Barbaro simply wasn't able to reach many voters because of the news blackout that blanketed much of his campaign. Second, many voters remained cynical that anyone in political life can make a difference. Even black union members I interviewed on primary eve expressed this viewpoint, though most said they would vote for Barbaro the next day. Finally, the “dirty little secret” of race remains potent in New York City politics. Koch hasn't delivered to please middle and working-class whites, but he has given voice to their racial spleen and successfully passed the buck on the city's worsening crime problem and housing and transit crises.

With Barbaro and Koch set to be on the November ballot, and the Liberal and Conservative parties offering pallid nonentities, the September primary becomes a rehearsal for the general election. Barbaro, painfully underfinanced, will be making a strong bid to get his message across through street campaigning. Koch has already vowed to wage a full-fledged campaign, including heavy TV ad time. City Hall observers think Koch is worried about the impact of the Reagan budget cuts that take effect Oct. 1. They say he will now try to put some distance between himself and the Republican president who received his unofficial endorsement last year.

The critical question now seems to be whether organized labor will continue to support the Unity Party that they helped to create and build a campaign around the widely-held feeling among labor people that “a vote for Koch is a vote for Reagan.” It will be an important test of how much muscle labor is willing to put into building the coalition that made such an impressive showing on Solidarity Day into an effective political tool.

**Paul Du Brul** is a frequent contributor to the *Village Voice* and co-author with Jack Newfield of *The Permanent Government: Who Rules New York?*, soon to be released as a paperback by Pilgrim Press.



# POLITICS

## Nader looks forward in anger

By Alexander Cockburn  
and James Ridgeway

WASHINGTON

Ten years ago Ralph Nader launched the Public Citizen organization amid the darkness of Nixon's Washington. Over the years that followed, Public Citizen became a political force to be reckoned with on Capitol Hill. Today, in the Washington of Ronald Reagan, the darkness is, if anything, even more profound.

In 1971 the momentum of the '60s still favored reform. In 1981, evidence of pell-mell retreat is everywhere to be seen, with once friendly politicians fleeing for the hills and corporate agents stealing all before them.

Last weekend Nader and Public Citizen sponsored a conference in Washington called "Taking Charge: The Next Ten Years," an attempt to sort out priorities and establish a line of march through the (ever)present crisis.

For Nader himself these are not encouraging times. Nor, on the evidence of a recent interview with him, could it be said that he is particularly optimistic.

Over the last decade you built up a good deal of support in Congress, but when Reagan was elected it just dissolved. What happened to these forces of consumerism, the environment, the public interest?

Their opponents in Congress had a structure of private power supporting them with campaign contributions, facilities, everything. The pro-consumer, pro-environmentalists didn't. They either got tired and gave up, defeated by superior campaign money. Or they decided to play a middle-of-the-road game.

Looking at the political map right now, where do you think we're headed?

The civic effort should not concentrate on formal politics. It's just too preliminary, too premature. It's got to deal with organizing power on the outside. It's hard to predict what's going to happen when the Reagan budget hits—not in terms of uproar, but in the quality of the uproar and whether it leads to organization. There may be demonstrations and the grounds-keepers will pick up the paper cups next morning. And that's it. Can you remember a time when provocation for radical citizen mobilization was greater?

But there isn't any radical citizen mobilization.



Not yet. The Reagan budget hits October 1. Two hundred thousand CETA youths are unemployed. Half the plate is gone on the school lunch. The infant nutrition programs are down. Legal Services is curtailed, on its way to abolition.

But aren't we benefiting from lower taxes?

No. Because we're going to have to pay more state taxes. That's what the Reagan budget is going to do. All these things are going to be dumped on the states. If the states pick up some of the items the federal government has dropped, they'll have to raise taxes. If the states don't pick up some of these items, you're going to see a [reaction], more city riots. Look, the Great Society bought off the poverty society. It basically said, calm down. We'll give you some food stamps, fuel supplements. We'll give you jobs and so on. What the Reaganites don't understand is that by taking all that away, it's going to fuel the fires of mainstream

revolution.

There's virtually no tax bracket where people are going to pay less taxes, because inflation is going to jack it up and make up the difference. Social Security will take care of the rest. That's going to be an increasing bite. And higher prices will just pile it on. It's going to fuel inflation and money won't be set aside for investment purposes. Increasing natural gas prices will just speed inflation. Money won't be saved. It's going to be spent. The Reagan supply-side economics is a crackpot theory that through the process of luck and broken-field running became national policy.

Did you expect such a debacle in Congress?

No. I was quite surprised. I was surprised that people like Bob Eckhardt (D-Texas) would be defeated. That [John E.] Moss (D-Calif.) would retire. Moss would now be chairman of the House Commerce Committee. There would be no chance of weakening the Clean Air Act.

In areas with which you have been concerned, what has the Reagan administration done to hurt people?

The most systematic theme of the Reagan administration thus far has been the moves to destroy the gains that have been made in the last 25 years, and there are about five major areas. One is the government's role in defending people against the ravages of an industrial society: pollution, occupational disease, product deficiency. For example, the crash protection standard, which has been in the shaping since 1969, is about to be revoked by the Reagan administration, thereby leaving millions of motorists with the freedom to go through windshields.

In the food area they are going to try to cripple the Delaney Amendment, which prevents any substance causing cancer in animals from being put into the food supply. They're going to weaken the food inspection process. They're going to weaken the ability of the FDA to get data for enforcing the food and drug laws.

They want to double the amount of pollutants that come from automobiles. They want to get rid of the concept of the "best available" technology as the standard that government agencies have to force the companies to meet. They want to develop average fleet emission standards so that it will be impossible to recall automobiles that don't meet specific pollution standards. I don't see them for-

cing the auto companies to recall any autos the companies don't want to recall. They will issue no new standards.

You're couching all this in terms of "they will" or "they're going to." What in fact has Reagan done?

They've got to go to Congress or through certain administrative proceedings before they revoke a standard. What they've done is to stop the work of the health and safety agencies, which was leading to issuance of stronger standards, updated standards or new standards. They have suspended the public-affairs programs of EPA. They have embargoed, destroyed, curtailed the distribution of pamphlets, reports and materials designed to alert people to pollution hazards, their rights under the law and so forth. They have not enforced the law.

Do you think things will revert to 1964, when you started out, or even worse?

They're not going to take out the seat belts or put back the ram-rodding steering columns, but they're going to come pretty close. Relatively speaking, the rate of death and injuries is going to start climbing because there's a higher percentage of small cars on the road, whereas 15 years ago there weren't that many. So they'll slip, unless they can put things like passive restraints, air bags and so on in small cars. It's really the Reagan devolution. It's a systematic attempt to get rid of the last 25 years of protective measures.

Where do you see things going in 1984?

Well, Reagan probably will usher in a moderate Democratic administration, because it will look good by comparison with Reagan. Reagan's got himself in a bind. As the tax revenue goes down, he's got to continue to cut social programs because he won't cut the Pentagon. And there will be more disruption, more welfare claims, more pressure by the states. The states and the localities are going to have a major role in the 1984 election. Not only are they going to be under pressure because they've had all the stuff dumped in their lap, but they are also going to be at the point of exposure. What Reagan is trying to do is to turn to the American public and say, "Get it from your mayor and your governor."

You see the Democrats as coming back as moderate Republicans?

That's right—as the liberal wing of the Republican party. It will be Percified. The Democratic Party will be like Senator Percy.

Do you think anything will happen to the left of the Democratic Party?

There is no left. All they'll be asking for is relief. Not change.

What's the future for the public interest movement, or does it have a future?

It has a very defensive one right now. I'd hate to see what would be happening if there was no one around. It's been slowing Reagan down, especially in the environmental area, where the administration has had to cut back on some of the leasing.

Is the public interest really worth the bother? Is it more than a bunch of well-to-do middle-class kids, pushing their own interests and having a good time? Or is it an institution that stands its ground and fights?

I think they are standing their ground and fighting. They may lose, of course. One important thing is that the public will know what is being done. It won't be sugared over with a lot of Reagan rhetoric.

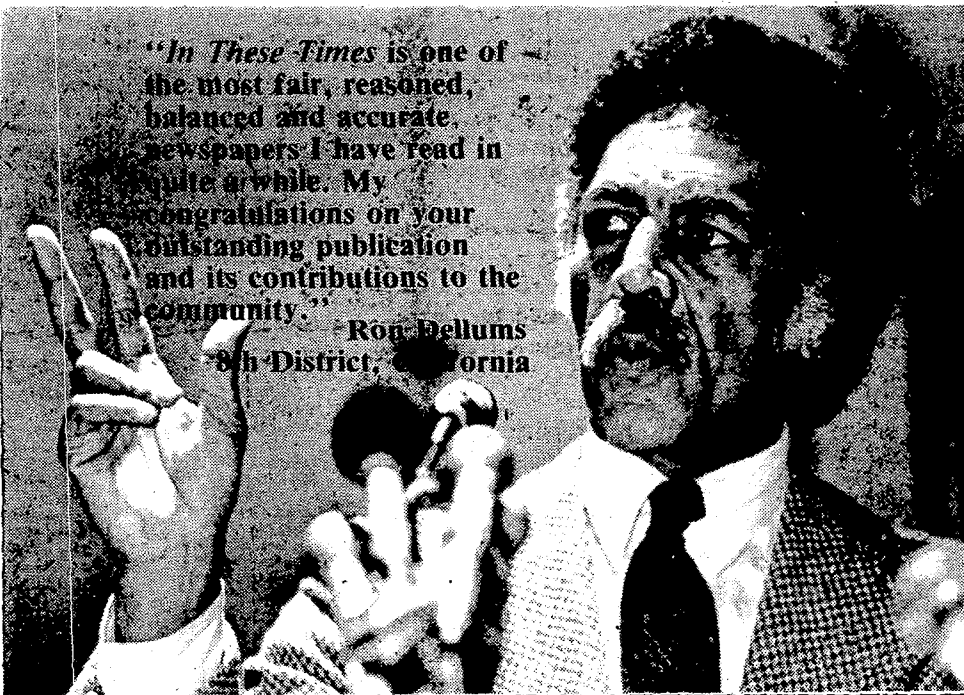
Where is the political hope?

Hope lies in developing the mode of organization. That's the biggest need of today. It means alternative economy through the co-op. It means greater use of initiative, referendum and recall.

You used to talk enthusiastically about the formation of other political parties. All these things are possible. But it depends on the energy level of the reformers.

Which, right now, is pretty low?

Yes. It's pretty low. Alexander Cockburn and James Ridgeway are columnists at the Village Voice, where a longer version of this interview first appeared.



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IN THESE TIMES

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# IN THE WORLD

## THE VATICAN

# Is John Paul II a socialist?

By Paul G. Schervish

BOSTON

**P**OPE JOHN PAUL II'S RECENT encyclical, *Laborem Exercens* (On Human Work), may be the most dramatic recasting of papal social doctrine since Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum* (On Things New), published 90 years ago. It introduces into papal discourse a framework of concepts and logic strikingly akin to Marxism. And it sets forth moral principles that criticize existing capitalist and communist systems while implying an alternative of democratic socialism.

It is still too early to gauge the international reaction to the encyclical; but reports in the U.S. media have been matter-of-fact, either missing or avoiding what some experts on Catholic social teachings suggest are substantive advances in Catholic social thought.

George Higgins, a long-time labor advocate and former director of the Office of Social Action of the United States Catholic Conference, explains, "The document does not have the ring of earlier social encyclicals. Rather than taking a deductive, natural-law approach based on the scholastic thinking of Thomas Aquinas, it argues inductively from a personalistic and humanistic starting point to the nature of human beings as subjects engaged in the work of shaping their world."

The encyclical is "new and remarkable in the history of Catholic social thought," explains David Hollenbach, an authority on Catholic social teachings. "It contains a persistent and detailed emphasis on the primacy and dignity of labor as the foundation for all economic and human rights." In fact, suggests Hollenbach, "it really looks like the Pope's criticism of capitalism and collectivism from the standpoint of labor argues for a form of democratic socialism."

An examination of the text of the encyclical reveals a strikingly informed treatment of the contemporary subordination of labor to those who control the means of production in both capitalist and communist economies.

John Paul's fundamental premise is that "human work is a key, probably the essential key, to the whole social question" (all emphases are the Pope's). Work is defined broadly to include any "transitive" human activity "whether manual or intellectual"—that is, activity "beginning in the human subject and directed towards an external object."

The objective aspect of work, says the Pope, entails a particular combination of human effort and technology that he defines as "the whole set of instruments" created by labor and used in the labor process. But the more crucial aspect is that the worker is a "being capable of acting in a planned and rational way, capable of deciding about himself and with a tendency to self-realization." This seemingly unobtrusive principle grounds the ethical conclusion that stands at the center of all that follows: "work is 'for man' and not man 'for work!'" Every society, every economic structure, every work arrangement is to be "judged above all by the measure of the dignity of the subject of work."

From the dawn of the 19th century the principle of "materialistic economism" has subordinated the laborer to the process of production. The worker came to be treated as mere "merchandise" sold to the employer. Today, this degradation of labor exists in both capitalist and so-called collectivist societies. In fact,

Hollenbach points out, the Pope reasons that existing collectivist economies—whether formally considered socialist or communist—are in reality forms of state capitalism. As the Pope says, every system that separates labor from control and makes the subject of work its object "should rightly be called 'capitalism.'"

### Who owns the "great workbench?"

The conflict between labor and capital originated in the fact that "the workers put their powers at the disposal of the entrepreneurs, and these, following the principle of maximum profit, tried to establish the lowest possible wages for the work done by the employees." This "real conflict between labor and capital was transformed into a systematic class struggle, conducted not only by ideological means but also and chiefly by political means."

This formulation is significant, says Arthur McGovern, the author of *Marx-*

means of production, of the role of unions and of the appropriate direction for social transformation.

Though not often recognized, explains Hollenbach, the Church has always maintained only a qualified defense of the right to private ownership of productive property. What distinguishes John Paul's position from his predecessors', says Hollenbach, is not his view that "the right to private property is subordinated to the right to common use," but his stance that common use means to "serve labor."

All property, including productive property accumulated in the form of capital, "is acquired first of all through work in order that it may serve work." For that reason, the means of production "cannot be possessed against labor, they cannot even be possessed for possession's sake, because the only legitimate title to their possession—whether in the form of private ownership or in

forms of oppression have evolved that are even "more extensive" than those "working 'intelligentsia'" suffer from "what is in effect 'proletarianization.'" Thus even today there is continued need "for ever new movements of solidarity of the workers and with the workers." To such a movement the Church is "firmly committed" so that she may give proof of her fidelity to Christ as the "Church of the poor."

### The state as "indirect employer."

Recognition of the "proper position of labor and the worker in the production process demands various adaptations in the sphere of the right to ownership of the means of production." These may include "proposals for joint ownership of the means of work, sharing by the workers in the management and/or profits of businesses, so-called shareholding by labor" and so on. In constructing a properly socialized economy, unions are granted a special but not exclusive place. Besides "associating labor with the ownership of capital," the socialization of property also entails "producing a wide range of intermediate bodies with economic, social and cultural purposes; they would be bodies enjoying real autonomy with regard to public powers, pursuing their specific aims in honest collaboration



**Any form of ownership—either private or collective—is condemned if it violates the fundamental principle of the encyclical: to serve labor.**

*ism: An American Christian Perspective.* It reflects the Pope's subtle distinction between the objective conflict between labor and capital and its expression in class struggle. Once the objective conflict becomes translated into narrow class struggle, revolutionary victories too often establish collectivist economic structures that merely recast the subordination of labor in the form of a workers' state. It is no real victory for labor when the means of production come "under the administration and direct control of another group of people, namely those who, though not owning them, from the fact of exercising power in society manage them."

What is needed, in contrast to existing forms of capitalism and collectivism, is a true socialization of property. This occurs only when "on the basis of his work each person is fully entitled to consider himself part-owner of the great workbench at which he is working with every one else.... The principle of the priority of labor over capital is a postulate of the order of social morality." From this John Paul derives his understanding of the limited right to private ownership of the

the form of public or collective ownership—is that they should serve labor."

In view of what may be termed the Pope's labor theory of social morality, it is but a small step for him to envision trade unions as the guarantors of the social good. Labor unions, he recommends, represent an "important and eloquent" reaction "against the system of injustice and harm that cried to heaven for vengeance and that weighed heavily upon workers" in the early stages of industrialization. Such a movement was justified, he argues, "from the point of view of social morality" because the liberal socio-political system "strengthened and safeguarded economic initiative by the possessors of capital alone, but did not pay sufficient attention to the rights of the workers."

John Paul recognizes that many rights of workers have gained some protection over the years under what he terms "neocapitalism or collectivism." Still "various ideological or power systems, and new relationships that have arisen at various levels of society, have allowed flagrant injustices to persist or have created new ones." In the developing nations,

with each other and in the subordination to the demands of the common good."

But such changes are not limited to the economic sphere and must take form as well in what John Paul calls the sphere of the "indirect employer." This conceptual innovation roughly corresponds to what is often called the superstructure but stresses labor as the key. The indirect employer is the total social environment that "substantially determines one or other facet of the labor relationship, thus conditioning the conduct of the direct employer when the latter determines in concrete terms the actual work contract and labor relations." The concept applies, he adds, "in the first place to the state. For it is the state that must conduct a just labor policy."

The impact of the encyclical on shaping religious thought as a resource for criticizing existing capitalist and socialist systems and for constructing alternatives under the rubric of democratic socialism will depend on the extent to which its radical formulations will be missed or dismissed. The challenge to the left will be to look past the Pope's insensitivity in thought and language to the struggles of feminism in order to appreciate a religious formulation of humanistic principles defending the dignity of all workers. The right, in contrast, will strain to dismiss the encyclical as either uninformed about the blessings of democratic capitalism or naive about the ability of self-interested labor to guarantee the social good. ■

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# March

Continued from page 3

and Coretta Scott King and striking air controller Steve Wallaert to raise the possibility that cuts in the defense budget might be preferred to cuts in social programs. (It was also ironic that while almost every speaker cited the precedent of the 1963 civil rights march on Washington, none mentioned the 1969 anti-war moratorium, which attracted half-a-million protesters.)

Among the marchers, there was some support for Reagan's defense budget, particularly among some older construction workers. For instance, Art Bartlett of the Albany, N.Y., Local 106 of the Operating Engineers said that while he thought Reagan's economic program was "terrible," he thought his military and foreign policy had been "good for the defense of the country. I don't think we can keep being weaklings."

But Bartlett seemed to be an exception. Numerous locals carried signs with such slogans as "Make jobs, not war" and "Mass transit, not missiles." Clara Cinquanta, president of a New Haven Clothing and Textile Workers local, who wanted to shift the tax burden to the rich, observed, "I don't think we should be spending so much on building these tanks and ships. We don't need 'em. They could be building better things for people."

## Who's party is this?

Although the major speeches offered few hints about political strategy, there was also widespread feeling in the crowd that at the very least labor should put its stamp more firmly on the Democratic Party or else start a labor party. Indeed, disappointment with the Democrats' feeble opposition to Reagan and with a lackluster Jimmy Carter were nearly as widespread as the outright anger with Reagan.

"I have little faith in the Democrats," Millidge Harris, a young black math teacher from Philadelphia, said. "These two parties don't give you a real choice." Joe Boardman, business manager of the Philadelphia Iron Workers local, was firm: "Anything Republican we're going to put out of office. We used to be a little selective, but not any more. And the Democrats ain't Democrats. I don't think Tip O'Neill has been that strong either." In

Thrust upon us by a president who claims to have a mandate from the people. Well, we are the people. And I believe today that if the battle must be— We will not sacrifice the laws and gains that our forefathers died for."

But such a defense can be the first step in what ultimately may be an offensive strategy not only to preserve what is threatened but also to bring in new ideas, even if few were evident on Solidarity Day itself.

"We have come too far, struggled too long, sacrificed too much and have too much left to do to allow all that we have achieved for the good of all to be swept away without a fight," Kirkland said. "And we have not forgotten how to fight. We are out of step with no one but the cold-hearted, the callous, the avaricious and the indifferent." The march crystallized a growing sense of confrontation between the administration and a labor movement that for many years has shunned confrontation in favor of more polite lobbying.

But within the ranks of labor there is a major three-way split on political strategy. One group favors strong outside pressure on both political parties. Another, reflected partly in the growing proportion of labor money that finances the decrepit Democratic Party, wants to take over the Democrats. A third emphasizes building coalitions with women, minorities, environmentalists and other allies and either transforming the Democratic Party from bottom to top or else operating as an independent political force, possibly even another party.

Solidarity Day could influence the course of this political debate if the unions are able and willing to follow up on the mobilization with more grass-roots activity. But as one top union political aide observed, "Union leaders never have been too enthused about getting their numbers aroused—for politics or even more for internal union affairs."

AFL-CIO organizers did attempt to get the name, address and phone of every demonstrator for future grass-roots action in politics and legislative lobbying. Other unions also have new programs underway that may get a boost from Solidarity Day. For example, the American Federation of Government Employees had recently adopted a political education program, which originated with local leaders in Illinois, that was boosted by Solidarity Day activity. The National Education Association instructed its marchers on postcard campaigns and primed them for immediate response to



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means nearly 1,000 people in each of the 435 congressional districts." (Of course, the South, West and Southwest—the growth centers of the country where conservatism is strongest and unions weakest—were not particularly well represented in Washington.)

"Most of the people here are people I see at district and local meetings," Dick Fine of Philadelphia Machinist Local 159 said. "There are a few, very few, who aren't. But this will help get more out. At least I'm hoping it will."

## Fears of Reagan.

If there isn't such a reinvigoration, labor will not have got its money's worth. The demonstration was costly, since internationals, locals and central labor councils as well as the AFL-CIO not only devoted staff time and money to publicity but also paid for most of the buses, trains and other transportation costs to bring the crowd to Washington and often picked up food or lodging tabs. AFSC-

ity is the biggest political time-bomb facing the Reagan administration.

And it clearly concerned younger workers as well as old. Michael Boykins, 25, a black shipyard worker from Philadelphia, explained, "My ma has been on social security since my pop passed away 15 years ago," reflecting the common concern of younger workers for their parents' retirement security.

The attack on the air controllers intensified the fears of many workers that Reagan would unleash a wave of threats to unions—undermining the Davis-Bacon wage protection for construction workers, dismantling OSHA protection, encouraging right-to-work laws and making the Hobbs Act prohibitions against violence in interstate commerce apply to labor actions. "We have to make sure he doesn't start busting unions," Ken Bello, a boilermaker from New Haven, Conn., said.

But there were some less predictable sources of concern, for example, a recurring worry about financing college education among blue-collar parents who had hopes of sending their children to the university. Nick Papalia, 46, a carpenter for 25 years, said, "I have a boy in college who got \$2,400 in aid last year and nothing this year. Next year we won't even be able to borrow the money."

Scattered throughout the crowd were a few locals that were clearly more militant and politically aware. For example, the members of the United Transportation Union from Lincoln, Neb., carried a banner declaring "No nuclear power, no nuclear weapons" that the state AFL-CIO had refused to include in their procession. According to Bryan Dance, a trainman on the Burlington Northern, some of the marchers had wanted to carry signs about a labor party, El Salvador and the Equal Rights Amendment but were turned down by the local.

But even if those locals were anomalies, they reflect the percolating enthusiasm and ideas that can bubble up in the labor movement if members are encouraged to get involved. If Solidarity Day does reinvigorate the labor movement, then it is likely that the top leaders of labor will increasingly confront members asking why they are supporting a Democrat who will not fight, why they are not attacking the expanding military budget, or why more militant action is not taken to resist attempts to destroy a small union like PATCO.

To fight the menace of Reaganism and regain some clout in the nation's political process, the leaders of organized labor will have to build on the process that they initiated with Solidarity Day. Yet success in that effort may lead them far beyond where they intended to go.



Philadelphia, he said, labor took on the Democratic machine in the congressional primary and won. "That's only the beginning," he said. "If they don't listen, then we'll elect our own candidates, labor candidates."

"There's more talk about forming another party," said Vertell Corvett, a black woman from the Detroit Coalition Against Reagan Cuts, a theme touched on in recent weeks by UAW president Doug Fraser.

But the overall tone of the day was defensive. "We did not choose this battle," United Mine Workers president Sam Church said. "It was thrust upon us.

any mention of education cuts in Reagan's new round of budget slashes. Dick Greenwood, assistant to Machinist president William Winpisinger, said the Solidarity Day demonstration "will enable us to continue to 'retrofit' our own organization at the local level, as we've already done at the national level, and help more of our local people get involved with the national program."

If inspired, the participants in Solidarity Day could turn local unions from small, lethargic gatherings into centers of political power. "Imagine," one UAW staff member said, contemplating the estimate of 400,000 demonstrators, "that

ME alone spent just under \$1 million to win the prize for the largest delegation: 60,000 demonstrators, perhaps a third of them from New York City. The Machinists came in second with 35 to 40,000, and the UAW rallied 27,000. Several other unions, including the Steelworkers and the NEA as well as the NAACP, brought over 10,000.

The march participants were united in seeing Reagan as favoring big business at the expense of working people. Urban League president Vernon Jordan put it well: "The rich get tax cuts; the poor get program cuts."

Beyond that, the threat to social secur-



## EUROPE

# The honeymoon is over for France's Socialist leaders

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

**T**HE FRENCH SOCIALISTS' honeymoon with the public—or (in Mitterrand's term) the "state of grace" when they could seemingly do no wrong—is already over. It ended very precisely on Sept. 15, when Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy declared a new "war against unemployment" before a special session of the National Assembly.

Mauroy had promised startlingly bold new measures, but many heretofore friendly commentators expressed disappointment that it was only a guerrilla war he was declaring, harassing the edges of the problem. Rather than using the enlarged public sector and newly nationalized industries to attack the unemployment problem head on, the Socialists seem—at least for the present—to be counting on the private sector, above all small and medium business, to create jobs. For all their emphasis on "will" and "determination," the Socialists are ultimately depending on the "voluntarism" of private business, not their own, to solve the problem.

Losing the joys of irresponsible opposition for the first time, the right deputies in the National Assembly treated Mauroy to a typical French schoolboy *chahut*, interrupting his speech with frequent jeers, catcalls and wisecracks. The gist of the roasts and hollers was that the left was sure to smash its nose running up against the same facts of life that defeated the right. As for the Communists, they loyally applauded the prime minister, but Communist leader Georges Marchais for the first time spelled out clear boundaries to his party's support—especially in foreign policy.

Polls indicate that the voters who elected François Mitterrand and a Socialist majority to the National Assembly did not expect them to solve the unemployment problem overnight. But the Socialists themselves may have been overly optimistic about the effects of their first social measures last June. More than 200,000 new civil service jobs were created, notably in hospitals and schools. The increase in the minimum wage automatically increased domestic consumption and was thereby expected to stimulate production and create jobs. In addition, the government got management to agree to move gradually toward the 35-hour workweek—39 hours as of next Jan. 1—and to grant a fifth week of paid annual leave.

Nevertheless, unemployment continues to rise. It was officially around 1.8 million at the end of August, up 25 percent over last year, with the two million mark looming inexorably at the end of this year. Moreover, the latest data indicate that the young people and women who make up the bulk of unhappy job-seekers are now being joined by experienced, qualified male heads of household.

Mauroy is sounding the alarm because the trend threatens to unravel the social fabric and undermine the social welfare of those who remain gainfully employed. Already the unemployment compensation fund is having to be snatched from bankruptcy by special appropriations.

"We refuse to let the social fabric unravel before our very eyes," said Mauroy. "Work is more than a means of subsistence, more than a source of income. Life through work that women and

men are integrated into society." Lack of a job amounts to a "veritable banishing" from society, and the resulting "despair and violence have recently been shown in a neighboring country."

The bloody riots in British cities have indeed clinched the argument that free-market capitalism as practiced by Thatcher threatens to plunge densely populated Europe into barbarism. The Pope's latest encyclical, *Laborem Exercens*, is interpreted here as an explicit rejection of free-market capitalism and implicit endorsement of democratic so-

rural exodus and women's "legitimate desire" to work. Thus labor must also contribute to solving the problem by asking for shorter worktime instead of more purchasing power. Or in other words, existing global purchasing power must be spread among a larger number of employees.

Mauroy announced "four major measures" to share jobs more widely:

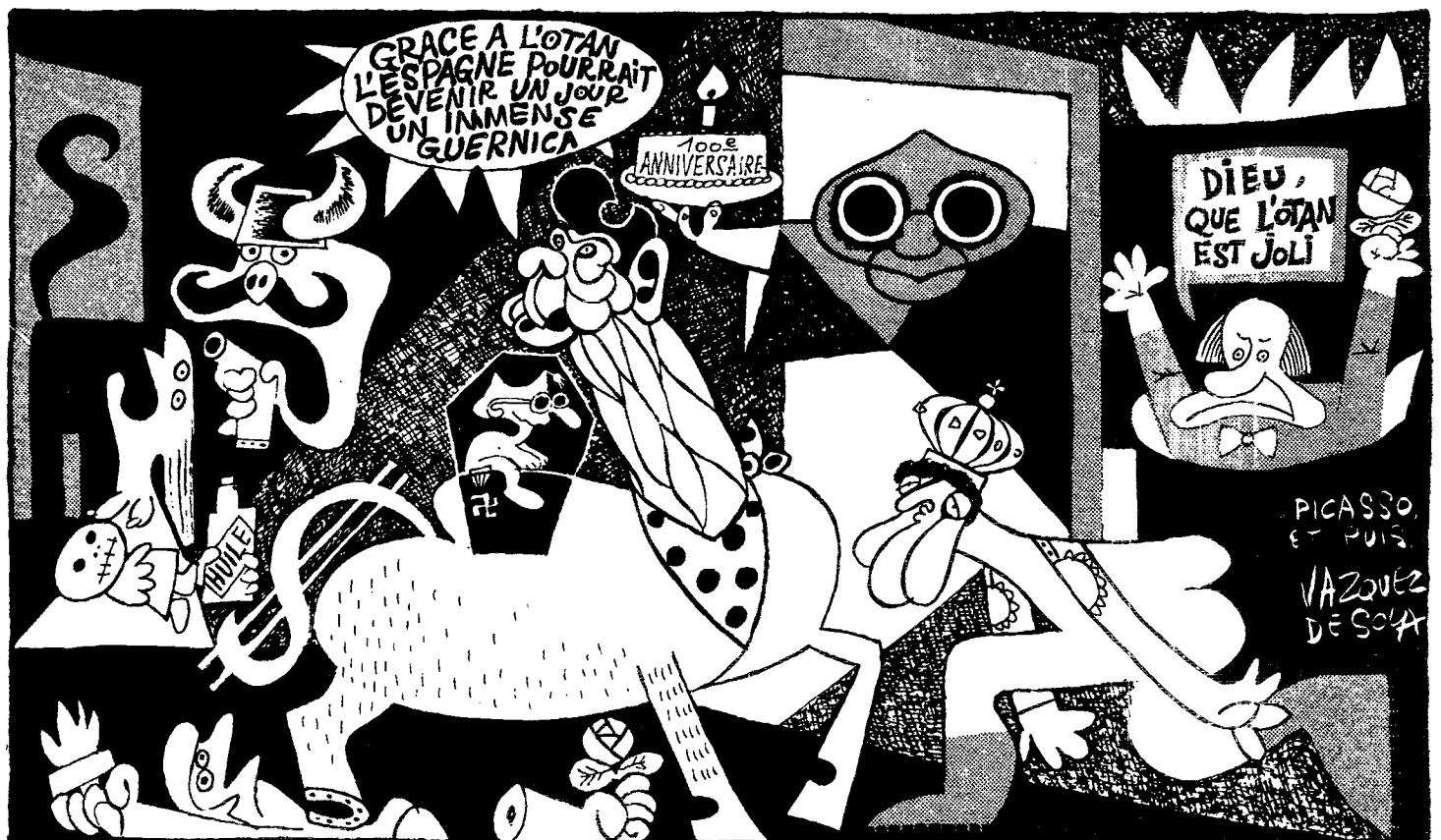
1) He called reduction of the workweek to 35 hours by 1985 "by far the most job-creating measure." However, expert studies and disappointing experience in neighboring Belgium indicate that whereas an abrupt, across-the-board reduction of the workweek from 40 to 35 hours would indeed create a significant number of new jobs, gradual reduction has virtually no impact on the job market. The government is not being altogether frank about this, while offering incentives to firms to speed up the process.

2) Part-time job arrangements, "not only for women"—although 80 percent of proposed job shrinkages will foreseeably be accepted by women who want to spend more time with their children. Next year, several government administrators

unflattering precedents from the 1930s, invented by Mussolini or Petain, while "typical"—and incorrigibly urban—working-class youth interviewed on television retorted that "raking the forests or clowning in the village square" for a year just when they should be settling into a serious trade was no help.

The Communist Party (PCF), after hiding behind its four cabinet ministers all summer, reappeared on the political stage quite at ease in its new supporting role. The PCF position is that the Socialists are keeping their promises and moving in the right direction—not as far or as fast as the PCF would want, of course, but the Communists recognize the weight of "outside constraints" (such as high U.S. interest rates) and the fact that the voters, by choosing Mitterrand, chose a more moderate program than Marchais' proposals. Thus, out of realism and respect for democracy, the PCF fully supports Mitterrand and Mauroy.

But recalling that it has ideas of its own, the PCF is getting ready to influence the Socialists if and when the economic situation worsens (as PCF economists believe it will)—or else go into op-



French foreign minister Claude Cheysson (upper right) bears his message that NATO is a bulwark of Christian civilization in this cartoon version of Picasso's "Guernica" from the French weekly CANARD ENCHAÎNÉ. At center, Ronald Reagan proclaims, "Thanks to NATO, Spain can one day become an immense Guernica."

cialism (not that secular France was waiting to get the word from the Pope). A warning signal has come this summer from the dreary high-rise suburbs of Lyons, where jobless working-class youth, mostly sons of immigrant workers, have taken to venting their frustration by setting cars on fire.

But mixing values is difficult chemistry, and the main thrust of Mauroy's speech was to try to persuade businessmen that receptivity to more human values would be profitable to them. He urged them to realize that "the left in power is bringing business what the right has never been able to deliver: a social climate of negotiation rather than confrontation, a system of planning that provides guidance for the future."

"There will be no industrial development in this country if working conditions and factory life continue to repel wage-earners," the prime minister declared. "I call on business leaders to understand—as the most dynamic have already done—that social progress inside the company is necessary for economic progress."

In return, Mauroy promised businessmen that the workers' *comités d'entreprise* (company committees) would not be granted any veto power over management decisions, over firings in particular. He also offered small-to-medium business a package of fiscal and credit incentives to investment and growth.

But "growth is not the only answer to the drama of unemployment," since, Mauroy conceded, in a departure from past left analysis, "demographic and sociological factors" are also responsible, such as the postwar baby boom, the

will offer half-time work at half of salary, or a 4-day week with a 20 percent pay cut. This measure arouses some perplexity among feminists and labor leaders, who want to be assured the shortening is strictly voluntary and reversible.

Cadre—that is, executives, technicians, senior administrative and professional employees, unlikely to be affected by the shortening of the workweek—are to be offered a sabbatical year off with part pay and guarantee of getting their job back. This idea has been well received.

3) Retirement age lowered to 60, and various incentives to get older workers to retire early and make way for the younger generation, including original measures to "make the transition between work and retirement more flexible than it is today," for instance by encouraging an oldtimer to split his job with a young newcomer. This measure is not aimed at people with high-level, interesting careers so much as at workers in boring or physically exhausting jobs who, as it is, rarely live to get back what they paid into retirement funds (in contrast to higher-level employees, who live much longer).

4) Vocational training for youth until age 18. To young men who still have nothing better to do after completing military service, the government will offer a "youth volunteer contract" to engage in some beneficial and adventurous (but barely paid) activity such as clearing dead underbrush from forests or helping with the social "animation" of small communities. This wholesome suggestion, instead of striking a responsive ecological chord, aroused a cacophony. Older commentators were reminded of

position in a relatively strong political position. The PCF insists that it is determined to stay in the coalition and make it work, and so far there is no sign of any economic policy disagreement big enough to split the coalition.

Foreign policy is another matter. The PCF has so far pretended not to notice certain exceedingly pro-NATO statements by Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson and Mitterrand himself. But even many Socialists are disconcerted by such an excess of Atlanticist zeal. Marchais concluded his Sept. 15 speech by solemnly reading the June 23 agreement between the Socialist Party and the PCF, basis for their government coalition, which included a joint promise to work for military balance, disarmament and the "simultaneous dissolution of military blocs." The PCF, said Marchais, will be faithful to that agreement. He left unspoken the implied question: Are the Socialists going to abandon that promise in order to back Reagan's arms race?

Much of organized labor feels that Mauroy's intentions are fine, but his measures vague and inadequate. Henri Krasucki, in line to replace Georges Seguy as head of the Communist-led General Confederation of Labor (CGT), warned that the 39-hour workweek will not create jobs, and criticized "work sharing" without defense of purchasing power as "sharing penury."

One side of the problem is to find technical solutions that work. Another is democracy. It has yet to be seen whether the two can coincide—whether effective solutions to contemporary economic dilemmas can be, first, found, and then accepted by a majority.



## MAPUTO, MOZAMBIQUE

**A**N AMERICAN VISITOR hands over his blue passport at the border with a slight degree of unease.

A few months back, the Mozambiquan government expelled six Americans, four of them employees at the embassy, on charges they were CIA agents. The Reagan administration reacted by cutting off food aid—the only kind of U.S. assistance here—which had helped alleviate last year's drought. The revolutionary government has suggested the CIA may have been implicated in the January South African raid, in which Pretoria's troops struck into the outskirts of Maputo and killed 12 African National Congress refugees and one civilian. The government rigorously distinguishes between the U.S. administration and American citizens, but does its view prevail throughout society?

The young border official checks the passport, establishes the visa is in order, and returns it with a smile. The CIA will be brought up occasionally in the following week's visit, but at no time will anyone even hint that U.S. citizenship confers guilt by association.

**T**he revolutionary government has deliberately made no effort to repair the extensive damage to the three houses the South Africans attacked in Matola, a sleepy residential neighborhood outside Maputo. A guide somberly and graphically recreates the attack, gesturing toward the enormous, gaping holes in the walls, mounds of shattered glass and plaster debris, tattered copies of the ANC's magazine, *Sechaba* and darkened bloodstains. The guide indicates where each of the 12 victims—all but one under 30—died.

At one residence, the ANC men managed to fight back, killing at least two South African soldiers. The rest of the raiding party retreated, leaving behind equipment, some of it marked with swastikas, and the body of one South African. The guide points out quietly, "The Rhodesians always recovered their dead when they used to invade us."

**I**n Maputo, large chalkboards called *Jornais do Povo* (people's newspapers), stand scattered throughout the city. Local party committees use the chalkboards to disseminate information about national and international affairs. The single newspaper, *Noticias*, has a limited press run due to shortages of paper and other supplies, so the *jornais*, with their gaudy messages in red, yellow and green chalk, are an important means of communication.

These days, a new message is starting to appear. The headline is: "Citizens: Prepare Yourselves for Eventual Aggression." The South Africans are expected to attack again, and the government is asking for volunteers in each Maputo neighborhood to undergo military training to become a sort of home guard.

**T**he Matola attack took place on Jan. 30. In the next two weeks, the ANC and its supporters waited nervously for the Mozambiquan government's response. No one questioned Frelimo's ultimate commitment to ending minority rule in South Africa. But at the moment, Mozambique continues to suffer economic hardship, and it is still recovering from the damages inflicted by Ian Smith's army. Possibly Frelimo would buy time to reconstruct by downplaying the raid, in which the South Africans had—after all—tried to avoid Mozambiquan targets.

Samora Machel gave Mozambique's answer at a mass rally on Feb. 11. With ANC president Oliver Tambo sitting alongside him, he lashed out at Pretoria, said he regarded the raid as an intolerable violation of Mozambique's sovereignty, denounced what he called traitors in his army he said had permitted the invaders to reach their objective and ended defiantly, "*Que vinham! Let them come. We want peace, but if they want war, let them know the war will end in Pretoria!*" Machel and Tambo then embraced, as a military band played "The International."

Several reasons have been advanced to explain why South African Prime Minister P.W. Botha ordered the attack:

1) He wanted to limit erosion to his right in the all-white elections in April; 2) he hoped to frighten Mozambique from continuing with anything more than verbal support for the ANC; or 3) he actually believed the three residences did contain the guerrilla command and that a surgical strike would set back the armed struggle for months, even years.

Botha was wrong on all counts. He lost considerable ground to the far right in the election; Mozambique did not back down; the ANC's guerrilla assaults continued to mount with hardly an interruption. The Matola raid, insignificant in strategic terms, will probably become recognized as a political turning point in the struggle to liberate southern Africa.

**T**he port of Maputo is vital to the Mozambiquan economy. Together with remittances from migrant workers in South Africa, it and the smaller ports account for close to half of the country's slender foreign exchange earnings. There is some evidence Pretoria is trying to apply greater pressure to Mozambique by diverting some of its exports to its own ports, and by discovering a mysterious "shortage" of railway cars on the line to Maputo.

The accepted wisdom in white South Africa is that the port continues to function only by employing large numbers of South African managers and technicians. The port director, a hearty black Mozambiquan, resents the allegation. He maintains the handful of South Africans working at the port are technicians from South African citrus and sugar associations, there to make dockside quality inspections before produce is shipped overseas. He encouraged his guests to peer into every nook and cranny at the port, to see if vast numbers of South Africans were hiding anywhere.

A visit of several hours convincingly corroborated his claim. Mozambiquan supervisors, some of whom had been laborers or stevedores in the colonial period, conducted long tours of their respective sections.

In one area, three women, dressed in the colorful long skirts called *capulanas*, were spending their lunch hour learning to read and write. Their teacher, also a port employee who was probably a party member, had written on the blackboard: "What is the party of the masses? FRELIMO is the party of the masses."

**P**arty and government officials are often astonishingly young. In the Ministry of Information (which, by the way, makes no effort to manipulate visitors), one leading official just turned 20, his assistant is a year younger. These two regularly conduct business with people two or three times their age with complete poise and nonchalance—this in a society in which until recently age automatically conferred respect and was to be obeyed with deference and without question.

Large state farms are seen as the only way to keep feeding the city.



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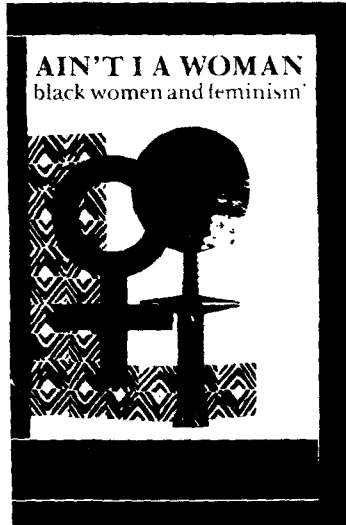
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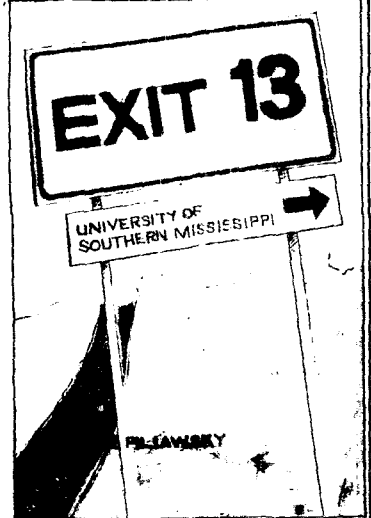
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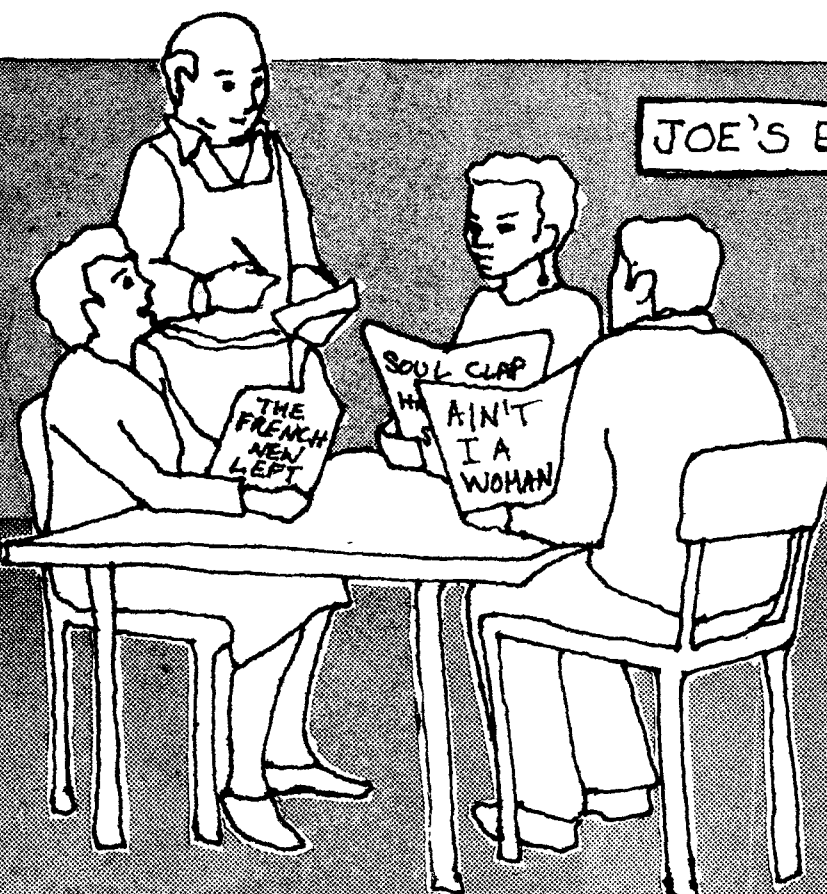
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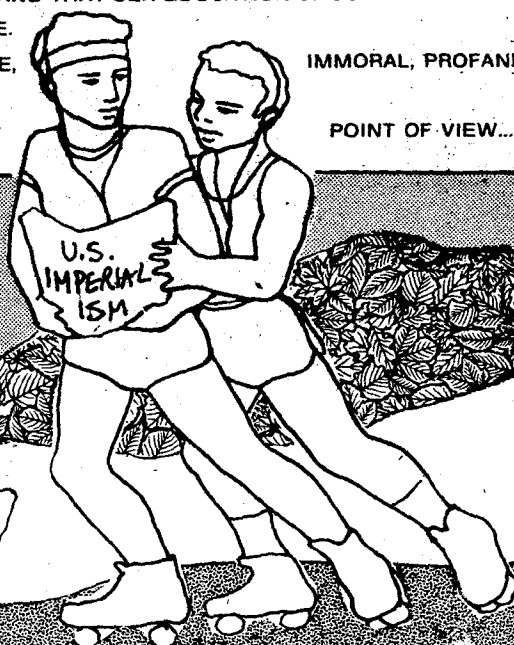
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—David Gordon

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—Jeremy Brecher

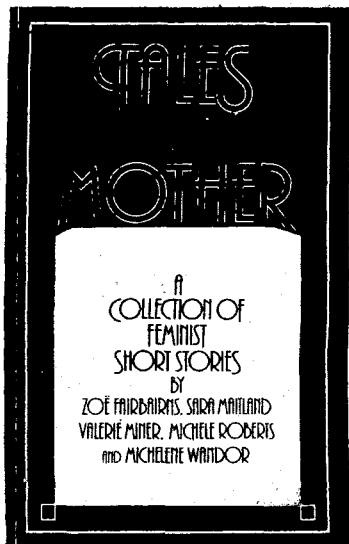
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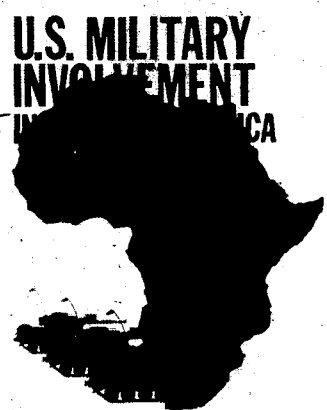
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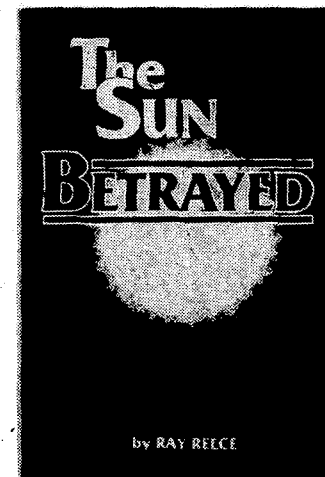
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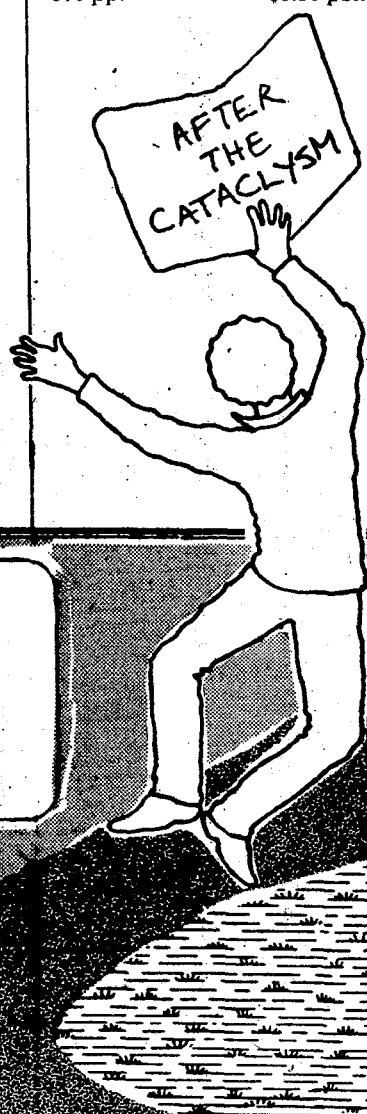
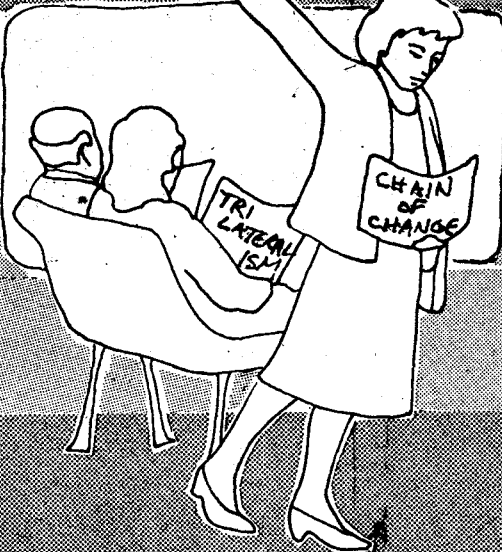
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One youthful official commented, "I really don't like to be behind this desk—a young person should be outside, in the open air. But we lack *quadros* (cadres, trained people), so I have to stay here."

The colonialist legacy lingers in humorous ways. Outside major offices, bulletin boards list each enterprise's *quadro de honra* (honor roll). The photographs of outstanding workers, from administrators to janitors, are posted, together with descriptions of their achievements.

The captions are flowery and grandiloquent—the style quite obviously an inheritance from the Portuguese. They are on the order of: "For exalted dedication to his tasks, elevated professional consciousness, high patriotic spirit, exemplary discipline..."

The very same bulletin boards used to contain photos of each establishment's *elementos comprometidos*—people who had collaborated with the colonial regime in key ways, together with a short description of their misdeeds. The display lasted for two years, during which the other workers were supposed to observe the doubtful ones closely.

The procedure sounds oppressive; it was actually rather mild. A newspaperman explained, "In many other countries, these people would have been tried and some of them possibly shot. Also, by coming forward with their crimes

they eliminated the possibility they could be blackmailed." At the end of the two-year period, those *elementos* who acted properly were reintegrated completely at their workplaces, their pasts officially forgotten.

Mozambique suffers from a condition prevalent throughout the third world, which might be termed "false urbanization." A growing rural population can no longer make a living from the soil; they have no land, or not enough, or no access to credit, among other factors. They flock to the cities. But the urban economy, locked into dependence on the industrialized world, produces relatively little locally, so there are not enough jobs. The new migrants survive as sidewalk vendors, maids, beggars and in other "unproductive" enterprises. The economy, locked into dependence on the industrialized world, produces relatively little locally, so there are not enough jobs. The new migrants survive as sidewalk vendors, maids, beggars and in other "unproductive" enterprises.

At independence in 1975, the Frelimo government inherited control of Maputo, a city of one million people with productive opportunities for fewer. The government encourages people to return to the countryside, but it has used little or no coercion.

The immediate problem was: how to continue to feed all these people? In the colonial period, the city was a tourist haven (and to some extent a brothel) for South Africa; it was hundreds of miles from the Frelimo liberated zones in the north; it remained potentially the most disaffected part of the country. Large farms in the south owned by Portuguese had produced for Maputo, but most of their owners fled. Frelimo had to step in, establishing state farms on the abandoned plantations. Much of the party would rather concentrate on smaller-scale rural development (as is happening elsewhere), but the government's response was to a large extent conditioned by its desire to keep feeding the capital.

One of these huge farms, made up of ten separate blocks totalling nearly 25,000 acres, is at Moamba, some two hours northwest of the capital. From a distance, each of its sections appears similar to one of the large, white-owned farms across the border in South Africa: a farmhouse; shabby quarters for the laborers; vast, irrigated fields (here mostly potatoes); tractors and other sophisticated implements.

The difference is that here a visitor is greeted by the Frelimo party committee, a group of about 10 serious men in work clothes. Some of them had worked for the old owner. They conducted a tour of the farm, proud in an unassuming way of their stewardship. They said they were not cultivating enough land, blaming a shortage of irrigation pumps and spare parts. One mentally contrasted these cordial, straightforward men with the deferential, serf-like black farm laborers in South Africa, and marvelled at the transformation.

On the way back to Maputo, the guide stopped at a consumer cooperative, one of many set up in both the countryside and the cities to alleviate the intermittent shortages of certain foodstuffs and other essentials. The shop stocked a number of items, including an ample supply of Nestle's infant formula. The guide was very pleased. He immediately bought a container for his child in the capital. He said his little girl thrived on it.

Of course, the guide had access to safe water to mix with the formula; he was literate, so he could read the instructions; and he had an adequate income, so his wife would not have to dilute the formula and possibly cause their child to develop malnutrition. Still, his reaction was a potent demonstration of the multinational's long reach, even though the Mozambiquan government is taking steps to discourage formula bottle feeding.

The economist has been in Mozambique for several years now, teaching at the university and taking part in a number of key studies of various sectors of the economy. He summarizes Mozambique's central problem as "maintaining productivity while carrying out some transformations at the same time."

"Take the state farms," he explains. "In many of them, profitability in the colonial period depended on using a low-paid, seasonal work force, and actual forced labor in some cases. Obviously, the government has ended forced labor, and it would like to stabilize the work force, at a reasonable rate of pay. That is very difficult. When they told you 'the pumps were broken' that may have been partly a euphemism to explain a drop in productivity that isn't only caused by technical problems, even though those certainly exist. The social effects of efforts to reduce exploitation can often reduce productivity as well."

The economist is presently at work on a study of the port of Maputo. These sorts of studies are vital to the party and the government as they plan certain reforms. He explains: "A sophisticated, very subtle wage structure developed in the port during the colonial period. It was partly based on race—the whites earned more—but also partly on the difficulty of the particular job. The men who work in the freezer, for example, earn more than some of the others. The difference may be slight, but it means something to them, and you don't go in there tampering with that wage structure if you don't know what you're doing or you can get some very big problems."

A recent joke: A man caught a large fish in the Maputo harbor. He licked his lips in anticipation, planning to fry the fish and also some potatoes. Then he remembered sadly potatoes were out of stock that week. Undaunted, he decided to grill the fish and have a nice salad with it. No luck here either: certain vegetables were in short supply. He mentally reviewed several more potential dinner menus, and discarded each one when he realized vital ingredients could not be obtained.

Finally, in disgust, he threw the fish back into the water. It swam around happily, leaped up in the air, looked him in the eye, and said, "Viva Frelimo."

A party member told the joke. ■



Allen Sussman

# Letter from

# Mozambique

Pumps are broken and many items are in short supply; such technical problems sometimes mask the social disruption of new programs.

## es North



# LETTERS

*IN THESE TIMES* is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions express in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

## RARITY

THE PERSPECTIVE ON EL SALVADOR'S "half dead" by Renny Golden and Bob Stark (*ITT*, Sept. 9) was a high-light.

Golden and Stark portray in eloquent and moving terms the plight of Salvadoran refugees fleeing the bloodshed in their homeland, often only to be turned back—sometimes violently—at international borders. Their account adds a painful but necessary human dimension to the reportage on El Salvador's brutal civil war. Even more important, however, Golden and Stark describe an aspect of the Salvadoran liberation struggle that I have not seen reported elsewhere, most notably the harshness with which the refugees are treated at U.S. borders. Legal observers in Texas estimate that nearly 200 refugees are deported back to El Salvador every day, many, as Golden and Stark explain, returned to certain death.

We rarely find this kind of crucial information elsewhere in the media. *In These Times* is to be commended for carrying the Golden and Stark piece.

—Ronni Scheier  
Chicago

## GOOD IDEA

A FRIEND, WHO INTRODUCED ME TO *In These Times* yesterday, suggested that I tell you what I told him about

your newspaper.

In a few words—it is a well-written, lively, thoughtful bit of journalism. For me it was a pleasant experience and I hope very much that it continues to grow.

Many years ago I was a daily newspaper editor and publisher and later I did some editorial writing for the labor press. I think labor could do itself a big favor by recommending *In These Times* to its membership. Local unions could profit by providing block subscriptions for their memberships and give up the pitiful efforts to publish their own dull sheets.

—Harry E. Sharkey  
Rochester, N.Y.

## 64 YEARS IN JAIL

IN 1917, AT THE AGE OF 23, ARDELL Mesles was convicted of a crime, perhaps committed out of self-defense, in New Kirk, Okla. Since that date, except for three brief periods of parole, each revoked for insufficient reason, Mesles has been a prisoner in the Oklahoma State Prison at McAlester. Now, at age 87, with no legal assistance since his first trial, and having served 64 years in prison, he is making a last attempt to win his freedom. He may be the oldest living prisoner in the U.S. penal system and the longest serving. Having recently been granted parole, Mesles' request for freedom was denied, with no cause given, by the Gover-

nor of Oklahoma.

Mesles is hoping to spend the last few months or years of his life as a free man and to be buried next to his parents in Comanche, Okla. He has sufficient funds to support himself, friends to oversee his welfare, and a nursing home anxious to care for him. He comes up for parole again in October. We urge you, as a matter of conscience and justice, to write to George Nigh, Governor of Oklahoma, Office of the Governor, Oklahoma City, Okla., on behalf of Ardele Mesles.

For more information on this case write Ronald M. Berger, Department of History, State University College, Oneonta, N.Y. 13820.

—Ronald M. Berger  
Oneonta, N.Y.

## OSHA + DUPONT

IN *THESE TIMES* REPORTED ON THE New York-based Council on Economic Priorities study, *Occupational Safety & Health in the Chemical Industry* (*ITT*, July 15). CEP's study found the chemical industry to be among the most hazardous in the nation, and ranked DuPont worst of the eight firms analyzed. On the positive side, it found that injury and illness rates in the chemical industry have dropped 23 percent since the adoption of OSHA standards, preventing nearly 90,000 injuries and illnesses at an average cost of only \$140 per worker, per year.

In response, OSHA—an agency not lacking in critics—has chosen to spend four man-months of work (and taxpayer money) to undermine our study, which credited the agency for its role in achieving this reduction of health and safety hazards. Indeed, we became aware that OSHA was publicizing their critique when a reporter called us. When asked to supply CEP with a copy, an OSHA official first refused, saying it was an internal document, then later suggested we could obtain a copy from DuPont! Such obvious collusion does not bode well for future OSHA enforcement efforts. Proposed new OSHA guidelines for inspections do nothing to dispel our concerns.

DuPont's OSHA inspection and violation record is clear. Among the eight largest U.S. chemical companies, they had the highest average number of serious (those that could cause death or serious physical harm) violations per inspection and the highest number of total violations per inspection. DuPont also had the highest percent of inspections triggered by worker complaints.

The data base supplied to CEP by OSHA is weak—OSHA records are admittedly incomplete and messy. American Cyanamid, for instance, is spelled 11 different ways! Consequently, one of CEP's recommendations was to improve OSHA's data-gathering, retrieval and analysis. But rather than acting on our suggestions and safeguarding the millions of taxpayer dollars spent on the system, the new administration at the Labor Department prefers to stick its head in the ground, complaining that our study should simply have been abandoned.

The CEP study states clearly that the citation and inspection records of chemical companies are being reviewed to obtain one measure only—albeit a good one—of company performance. We would have preferred to assess several different measures, but the companies refused to provide the information we requested on such measures as lost work days, illness and injury rates and successful programs.

No one measure will give a perfect picture, but relying solely on lost work-day data, which the companies and current administration recommend, would be highly misleading. The Labor Department and the chemical firms know perfectly well that such data is not publicly available on a company by company basis. Furthermore, such data is not capable of measuring serious diseases such as cancer or breathing disorders that may affect chemical workers 20 or 30 years after exposure. They certainly exclude the reproductive

damage that may leave a worker sterile or cause him or her to have a deformed or retarded child.

Ensuring a safe and healthy workplace is not an easy task. It will require strong and concerted efforts by OSHA, industry and the workforce.

—Alice Tepper Marlin,  
Executive Director, CEP

—Ruth Rutenberg

Study Co-author

Former chief economist, OSHA  
New York

## BLACKS AND THE CIO

IN RICHARD THOMAS' ARTICLE INVOLVING the struggle against discrimination by the "left" unions of the '30s and '40s a serious oversight has been made in omitting the union that had the finest record at that time. I refer to the National Maritime Union, which at its inception in '36 fought to have blacks integrated in all job categories and opened union payroll jobs to minorities, some also at the national level.

Up to the time of the inception of the NMU blacks had been relegated to one department on ships, the stewards' department. Deck and engine was all white. The NMU changed this by forbidding all forms of discrimination through its constitution and then shipping all job applicants to positions in rotation with regard only to their qualifications.

The NMU could do this because as an industrial union it controlled all unlicensed personnel on ships. Thomas mentioned the contribution made by the Marine Cooks and Stewards. While this union made its contribution, it should not be forgotten that it was more a craft union and thereby was representing blacks in a traditional category. The NMU, in its contracts, was able to put blacks in the departments that had been nearly fully white. Toward the end of the war, the NMU had a black captain sailing.

—Carl Sanjines  
San Francisco

## BLACK FILM

I THOUGHT YOUR ARTICLE ON BLACK Independent filmmakers was excellent (*ITT*, Aug. 26). Since, given the state of the U.S. film industry, the only currently viable means of access to the media for black Americans is through independent channels, your recognition of their achievements is particularly important.

While it is understandably impossible to be totally comprehensive in so short an article, and you probably had reasons for your selections, I'd like to take this opportunity to point out two omissions: William Greaves, easily the most prolific of black American filmmakers working today, and Jessie Maple, the first black woman to join IATSE as a cinematographer, and an independent producer-director (*Will, Methadone: Evil Spirit or Wonder Drug* and *Black Economic Power: Reality or Fantasy*).

—Wendy Lidell

Assistant Director, Association  
of Independent Video and Filmmakers  
New York

## EYE OPENER

THANKS FOR THE EXCELLENT Coverage of the situation in El Salvador by David Helvar and Renny Golden (*ITT*, Sept. 9). The recent info on Salvadoran refugees was an eye-opener.

—Bob Morrison  
Philadelphia, Pa.

*Editor's note: Please try to keep letters less than 250 words long. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.*

19 SEPTEMBER 1981



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# DIALOG

## Why are leftists leaping to the family's defense?

By Greg Calvert

**I**F DAVID MOBERG'S ARTICLE on the merger of the New American Movement (NAM) and the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) (*In These Times*, Aug. 12) reflects what is happening on the socialist left, one could surmise that this historic juncture in America is marked by the abandonment of the liberatory tenden-

cies of the New Left of the 1960s in favor of the "defense of the family." All of this was solemnly commented on by people who have been around the left even longer than I. Richard Healey's remark that he doesn't "see this [NAM] convention as marking the end of who we are" may go down as one of the great slips of the tongue of this century.

It was a little hard for us to take after facing the Moral Majority demonstration at the Austin, Texas, city council meeting last week. The issue before the

council was equal housing rights regardless of age, creed, marital status, parenthood and sexual orientation. You can bet that the Bible-banging fascists knew well that the real enemies were gay men and lesbians and that the real issue was "defense of the family."

That people who call themselves socialists are suddenly ready to grasp the banner of "defense of the family" and prove themselves more loyal to patriarchal institutions than the New Right appals me. Next, I suppose, they will claim to be the real defenders of public decency and applaud the closing of porno shops and massage parlors. (Austin was just treated to a conviction on a prostitution charge involving a massage parlor.) Every tinhorn sheriff in Texas will run for re-election on the same platform in 1982.

I remember when I was a student in Paris in 1961, shuddering the first time I noticed the fascist slogan, "*Patrie, Famille, Travail*" ("Fatherland, Family,

Poets Peter Orlovsky (left) and Allen Ginsberg at a 1979 gay-rights rally in Washington D.C.

Work") on French *centimes* pieces left over from the Vichy era. I also remember the time when my friend Michel Foucault (later to become a famous philosopher and political theorist) once gave his class the following sentence as a subject for a composition: "*La famille neurotique, c'est la famille tout court.*" ("The neurotic family is quite simply the family.")

Though I have differed with NAM on many issues, I do feel that that organization made a valiant effort to uphold some of the liberatory spirit of the 1960s New Left during the dismal '70s. In joining in the defense of the family, will they also join DSOC's guru Michael Harrington in his glib denunciation of Herbert Marcuse as a "Spenglerian anarchist"?

I would be one of the first to admit that there was much in the New Left that was young and adolescent and that it is important for the American left to mature. But maturity comes from the resolution of conflicts and the deepening of insight, not from running scared every time a father of four with a wife in the suburbs waves Leviticus 22 from the pulpit. If we had been that cowardly in the '60s, I would have hid in shame the first time Bob Ross said that I had "the politics of Timothy Leary and Prince Kropotkin."

If there is something we need to defend in the face of the Moral Majority, let it be the freedom to love and the sacredness of friendship. And let us have the courage to stand up for the right to experiment with the possibilities of expanding the dimensions of loving human interaction.

Some psychologists have come to recognize that experimentation outside of the traditional "family model" of human relationships can contribute to radical redefinitions of enduring relationships. They see the positive role that gays play in opening up new models of mating and living together. In a recent article in *Psychology Today*, psychologist Letitia Anne Peplau points out that, contrary to public prejudice, most gay people do not establish traditional "marriage" relationships with "husband" and "wife" role-playing. She writes: "The fact that so few homosexual relationships follow the pattern of traditional marriage means that many same-sex couples have had to find or create other ways of relating to each other."

*Continued on following page*



## A new pro-family group really belongs on the left

By Michael P. Lerner

**G**REG CALVERT MISUNDERSTANDS the major points made by those who are attempting to take the issue of the family out of the hands

of the right.

The growth of support for the right among working people is in part the re-

**The family's crisis is a function of a society that has not assimilated feminist values.**

sult of its recognition of the crisis in family life and of people's desire for safety and stability in their lives. But while the right is correct in identifying a major source of people's anxieties and fears, it is dead wrong in its analysis and proposed solutions.

The right blames the problems on gays, the women's movement and "government interference" and calls for a return to a traditional male-dominated family. People listen to these solutions because of the pain they feel about family life,

and because the right is the only force that speaks to the problem.

Family life is indeed in crisis, and the difficulties in building long-term relationships are increasing. But this is a function of the organization of corporate capitalist society that has not assimilated feminist values. In fact, the social order that the right is committed to defending is the source of the problem.

A real pro-family coalition, with a strategy for reclaiming family support, belongs on the left. I propose three parts for a left campaign:

1) A coalition to defeat the Family Protection Act, and to put forward in its place a Family Bill of Rights. The Family Protection Act is a motley assortment of New Right programs aimed at stabilizing an oppressive family system. Our response must be the creation of a national Bill of Rights for families that would give real support for families in all their varieties (including gay families, single parent families, extended families). Some of the tenets of a Bill of Rights for Families: Full employment, adequate health care, free community controlled child care, extended maternity and paternity leaves, safety and health committees at the workplace with power to enforce changes in working conditions to make them less stressful (which stress is typically brought home and causes much of the tensions in family life), a 35-hour workweek with no loss of pay and full equality for women.



2) A National Family Day—a series of community celebrations of support for those who are engaged in building families of every sort. Family Day is a way to capture public attention, to put forward our Family Bill of Rights and to promote the message that the real way to strengthen families is to build a community of support for them. Community is the key to family life, but it has been undermined by corporate capitalist society.

Family Day acknowledges that everyone faces problems in family life. Unfortunately, most people internalize these problems and blame themselves for their personal difficulties and tensions. This feeling immobilizes people, makes them feel powerless and opens them to false solutions promoted by the right. Our message is that many of these problems have been caused by a society that con-

stantly encourages us to be distrustful of each other, and that inflicts daily oppression at work and demeaning oppression of women.

3) Family support networks can be a forum for taking the messages of feminism to the sectors of the population who have not yet been reached. In these groups, we can begin to stimulate re-understanding of our personal lives in social terms. Of course, to get these to be used by sectors of the population who normally would think of any discussion of their personal lives with others as a potential indication that they are identifying themselves as "sick" or "crazy" we need to legitimize this activity. Family Day can begin to do that, but ultimately participation of the trade unions and the churches in building a national pro-family coalition will be required.

*Continued on following page*



# Lerner

Continued from preceding page

Hard-core New Rightists have visions of a patriarchal family when they talk of "defense of the family," but most people who respond to them have something different in mind. The word "family" is a code word for most people that conjures up images of long-lasting intimate relationships, and the place in which one generation nurtures the next. Even when our actual experience does not correspond to

our expectations, most people do not reject the ideal of family life, but are upset that the ideal has not been realized. We can help people understand what stands in the way of that realization—but not if we appear to be rejecting the deepest hopes and desires of the people by suggesting that "family" is reactionary.

To support family life in this way is not to idealize the family. Our message is that what people really want in family life—long-term committed, loving relationships—can be realized only through a transformation of this society along socialist and feminist lines. In that, we acknowledge the pains that people exper-

ience in family life, while also acknowledging that "family" is the only institution that provides caring and love for its members. This ideal provides the basis for the critique of patriarchal families and capitalist social relations.

One of the main impediments to building stable long-term relationships today is the continued oppression of women, both in the marketplace and in family relationships. These inequalities are destabilizing and lead to the tensions in family life. We support women leaving oppressive relationships and see the development of communities of support for single people as a crucial part of the process by which we build a society that can give meaningful support to family life. Only when families are built on free choice, not on coercion of any sort, can they provide the basis for long-lasting loving relationships.

The pro-family approach outlined here can get people to listen to a socialist and a feminist analysis. It is also the best and most effective way to defend the women's movement and the gay movement from attack. And it is the most likely way that leftists in the labor movement, women's movement, civil rights movement and environmental

movement could move off the defensive in the period ahead.

Our demand is: Create a society that is safe for love and intimacy. This is the kind of pro-family program that offers a possibility for rejuvenation of liberal and

## A "defense from attack" or a "reaction of fear in the face of change"?

left forces in 1982. Without this, there will be no stopping the right in the next three years.

Michael P. Lerner heads the Institute for Labor and Mental Health in Oakland, Calif.

A national conference to develop the Family Bill of Rights and form this coalition will be held in January 1982. For details, write to: Friends of the Family, 3137 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, CA 94609.

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## Calvert

Continued from preceding page

Among the gay men and lesbians we studied, relationships often resembled best friendships."

In rushing to the "defense of the family" we are falling prey to the same kind of fear that is manipulated by the New Right for its reactionary political purposes. As socialists, we ought to be the first to point out that all the talk about defending the family is a reaction of fear in the face of change. The deep changes taking place in the structure of human relationships ought to be analyzed and understood in terms of the possibilities for human liberation rather than running scared back into the comfort of

Mama's apron strings and Daddy's lunch pail.

Of course the changes are scary. Change always produces anxiety. But if we want to be part of a liberating future, we must have the courage to grasp the creative potential in the process of which we are a part. The impulse to romanticize the past in the face of changing social structures is a reactionary impulse. The "good old days" are never more than the same old pile of political horse-shit served up by the same "good old boys" down at the county courthouse every time the job of re-electing the incumbent sheriff comes around.

Greg Calvert is a gay activist and writer who served as National Secretary of Students for a Democratic Society in 1966-67. He co-authored, with Carol Neiman, *A Disrupted History: The New Left and the New Capitalism*.

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## INPRINT

## SOCIAL CRITICISM

## New Oriental wisdom

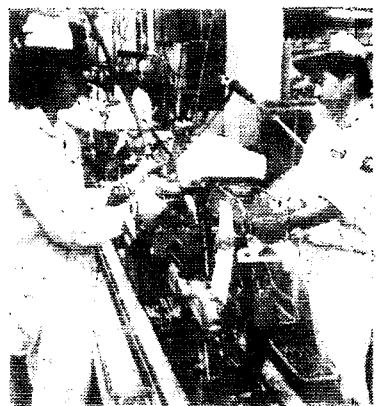
**Theory Z: How American Business Can Meet the Japanese Challenge**

By William G. Ouchi

Addison-Wesley, 283 pp., \$12.95

By Jon Spayde

From the Berkeley B-School to the *Wall Street Journal* to the non-fiction shelf at B. Dalton's, Japanese companies have arrived. The Japanese Secret is no



longer Cheap Labor or a wonky Work Ethic or Dumping or Death-Before-Failure. The Japanese, we have discovered, are geniuses at the subtle art of personnel management. Listen to Prof. William Ouchi of UCLA, chief priest of this latest cult of mysterious Oriental wisdom, in his book *Theory Z*.

"The Japanese organization

takes in only young people who are still in the formative stages of life, subjects them to multiple group memberships, and so inculcates in them the kind of devotion to co-workers that one sees in the U.S. Marines. It is not external evaluations or rewards that matter in such a setting, it is the intimate, subtle, and complex evaluation by one's peers—people who cannot be fooled—which is paramount."

The main things the Marines and the Japanese build through their "intimacy, subtlety and complexity" are team-values and a "corporate culture." Ouchi waxes anthropological: "The organizational culture consists of a set of symbols, ceremonies, and myths that communicate the underlying values and beliefs of that organization to its employees."

You get the idea, don't you? The Japanese-style Theory-Z "organization" operates in the mind of an employee exactly like "culture" inhabits the head of *homo sapiens*. Subtly, semi-consciously, making him do the right thing without thinking about it.

Is this system the result of a tension between authoritarian tradition and the egalitarian pressure of a vast consumer so-

ciety? No. According to the professor, it's an organic growth from the Japanese village, the wisdom of a millennial rural culture and so forth.

Prof. Ouchi doesn't want us to import this system lock, stock and barrel. After all, we are already possessed of three splendid traditions of "holistic" management and corporate-culture: the company town, the military and Silicon Valley.

In fast-track but laid-back outfits like Hewlett-Packard, "subtlety, intimacy and complexity" speak with an egalitarian Yankee twang. People share decisions, are informal and upfront with criticism, and casually but deeply loyal to one another and to the firm. Ouchi calls Z-type organizations "clans."

"Clans?" You bet. Cooperative units are what modern industrialism needs: "Our technical advance seems to no longer fit our social structure; in a sense, the Japanese can better cope with modern industrialism. While Americans still busily protect our rather extreme form of individualism, the Japanese hold their individualism in check and emphasize cooperation."

How far down the ladder are Ouchi's ideals of "cooperation" and "participation" intended to



Ouchi finds pleasant parallels between the Japanese workforce and the Marines.

go? All the way. Ouchi is a great fan of "worker input," and an even greater fan of the Japanese company union.

After all, once we have trimmed the Japanese model to fit our national traditions and personality styles, there is one irreducible and thoroughly Japanese bit of wisdom that remains: "Type Z organizations, unlike

Utopian communities, do employ hierarchical modes of control, and thus do not rely entirely upon goal congruence among employees for order."

Subtle points like this are real bridges of East-West understanding.

Jon Spayde works for a small Japanese company in San Francisco.

## Myths of inequality debunked

**The Pursuit of Inequality**

By Philip Green

Pantheon Books, 321 pp., \$14.95

By David R. Roediger

At the height of his career, the late heavyweight champion Joe Louis dispatched one challenger after another in such rapid-fire fashion that writers referred to each new foe as a member of the "bum of the month club." The pattern of *The Pursuit of Inequality* is much the same. In eight punchy chapters Green, a professor of government at Smith College, gracefully demolishes the arguments of many of the leading apologists for inequality in modern America. That the opponents of governmental action on the behalf of social justice have shifted their ground somewhat even as Smith wrote should not detract from his achievement in sweeping up much of the intellectual litter of the '70s.

In a sparkling introductory essay, Green balances the glowing rhetoric of liberal egalitarianism against the harsh realities of the persistent racial, sexual and class inequalities present even during the most reform-oriented periods of U.S. history. Nonetheless he perspicaciously argues that the commitment to equality, however ill-defined, incomplete and deferred, remains a positive part of the liberal-democratic heritage and sets out to discredit neo-conservative rationalizations of inequality as "factually worthless, conceptually inadequate and morally indefensible."

### Green takes on the socio-biologists and free-market-eers expertly.

Green groups the biologically-based justifications of inequality in a long first section which consists of chapters on sociobiology, Arthur Jensen's racist genetics, Richard Herrnstein's convoluted argument that social reform itself could help a lower class of hereditary inferiors, and the biological case for male dominance presented by Stephen Goldberg. Since Green terms the biological argument the "weak version of inequality," adding that its "appeal is for a time of crisis, not for the long run," it is perhaps unfortunate that he leads off with this material and devotes the bulk of the book to it. The refutation of Goldberg, for example, might be headed "Beating a Dead Horse."

Nonetheless Green's attacks on the hierarcho-biologists show a fine range of intellect as he faults facts, assumptions and logic. In treating Jensen, Green does not settle for the easy argument that IQ tests are culturally biased but challenges instead the very validity of experiments testing heritability of intelligence, no matter how refined the measurements. He reserves special

scorn for Jensen's (mis)use of studies of the intelligence of twins, suggesting that the only way such studies might apply to race is if one identical twin were white and the other black. The section on Herrnstein detours into an excellent discussion of the division of labor in which Green mixes commonsense and the best in current economic theory to show that the job structure of a society is not inevitable but is instead conditioned by history, by the decisions of management and by the resistance of workers. Goldberg, whose penchant for importing examples from the animal world as "proof" about human nature exceeds even that of the other sociobiologists, is shown as concocting evidence to defend patriarchy against feminist challenges.

The second half of *Pursuit* takes on more formidable intellectual opponents, men whose ideas have attracted a greater popular following and whose logic is less obviously meretricious than that of the biological

inegalitarians. Green devotes two chapters to refuting these "preventers of equality," who draw their arguments chiefly from economics, philosophy and the social sciences. His chapter defending affirmative action against the criticisms of Nathan Glazer, Irving Kristol and Daniel Bell boldly asserts that there simply is no evidence that Alan Bakke "merited" admission to medical school more than black applicants with marginally lower test scores. Green also stylishly rehearses familiar arguments regarding the basis for affirmative action in the historical and institutional oppression of minorities and women.

The final substantive chapter takes on the free market philosophy of Milton Friedman and Robert Nozick. It is the least satisfying in the book, in part because it assumes that a liberal consensus on fundamental social issues exists and that Friedman and Nozick succeed mainly by muddying the water. Thus Green declares, "No one can really be-

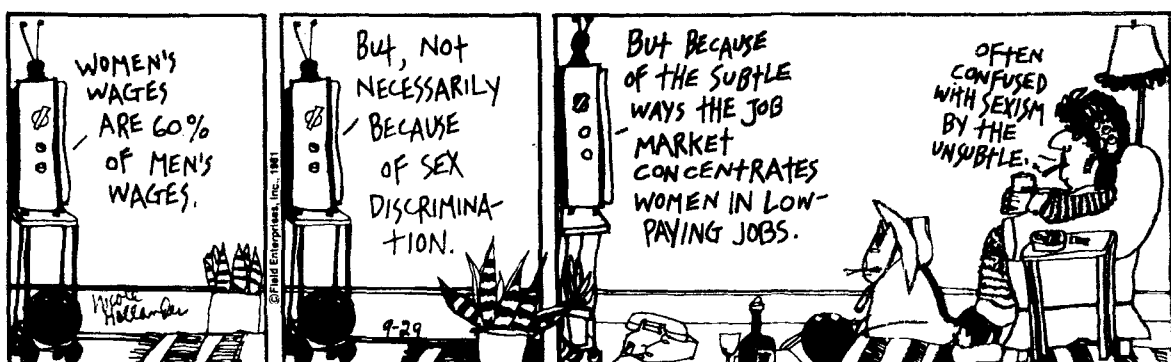
lieve that elderly should be without Medicare" at just the moment we are learning how imperiled such social legislation really is. *Pursuit* rightly brands Nozick's philosophical positions, particularly his advocacy of a "limited state" exercising power over defense and policing, as a rationalization of privilege but does not address directly enough Friedman's homilies regarding the relationship between the free market and prosperity.

That the last point seems so vital illustrates the central problem with Green's study: neo-conservative argument has already shifted from the grounds addressed in *Pursuit*. Taking a walk on the supply side, the Reagan intelligentsia, whether in the person of Thomas Sowell or George Gilder, relies little on either biology or philosophy, but instead trumpets the promise of growth to palliate inequality. The sad prognosis is that even after Green's fine book, debunking of the inequality is likely to remain a full-time job.

David R. Roediger teaches American history at Northwestern University. This article first appeared in *The National Catholic Reporter*, P.O. Box 281, Kansas City, MO 64141.

## SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander





## SOCIAL THEORY

# Making culture is as real as making steel

**Problems in Materialism and Culture**

By Raymond Williams  
Schocken Books, 277 pp.,  
\$8.75 (paper)

By Joel Franks

Raymond Williams' wide-ranging encounter with British letters, as well as his distinctive forays into cultural and social criticism, has led one of his most important critics, Terry Eagleton, to describe him as England's Jean Paul Sartre. Still, Williams remains relatively unknown in the U.S. One suspects two reasons for this. First, Williams eschews traditional Marxist categories and vocabulary. Second, Williams' England excites little fervor from American left intellectuals, whose hearts reside in the struggles in the third world or Western Europe.

*Problems in Materialism and Culture* conveniently gathers together most of Williams' important essays, scattered over 20 years and originally published in different places, and provides a more than adequate introduction to Williams. *Problems* is broken down into five sections: English cultural criticism; cultural theory; the problem of nature; literary and cultural history; and left politics. These essays are uniformly excellent. One must be cautioned, however, that Williams is not always easily read. His writing reflects a laudable concern to steer clear of academic and Marxist jargon. But Williams has, over the years, developed his own jargon in which such terms as "structure of feeling" are never clearly defined.

Some essays in *Problems* are more important than others. "Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theories," contains several gems of insight into a problem that has befuddled orthodox cultural theorists and Marxists alike. For more than 30 years, Williams' major project has been to align the concept of culture with the concerns traditionally identified with socialism. Once a Communist Party member, Williams long rejected the relevance of Marxism to the study of culture.

However, as Williams discovered in the '60s, the Marxism sanctioned by the British Communist Party, using a mechanistic base-superstructure model, was but one variation of a complex tradition. New possibilities are explored in "Base and Superstructure." Williams does not argue that the non-material (superstructural phenomena) is equally as important as the material (the mode of production). Rather he asserts that culture is material. It is as bound up in the production and reproduction of life as the manufacturing of cars or digital watches.

Accordingly, Williams argues for a theory of cultural materialism. In "Notes on Marxism in Britain Since 1945," Williams claims to have reached "a theory of culture as a (social and material) productive process and of specific practices, of 'arts,' as social uses of material means of production (from language as material 'practical consciousness' to the specific technologies of writing and forms of writing, through to mechanical and electronic communications systems)."

This is Williams' most sustained effort since *The Long Revolution* to comment critically on left politics in post-war Britain. And it provides a platform for Williams to evaluate his own place on the British left. He acknowledges that from his left flank a criticism can be heard that people like himself and E.P.

Thompson have been implicated in the triple crimes of populism, culturalism and reformism. Yet while he denies guilt, he asserts convincingly that there are far worse things than believing in the power of the people to change their own lives without the aid of a Marxist-Leninist vanguard, recognizing the importance of ordinary people's culture, and fighting for necessary reforms. One could have been an uncritical member of the British Communist Party throughout the '50s and '60s.



Getting meaningful work will mean more than transforming production processes.

## UNIONS

# "Except for Poland" is refrain

**Workers' Rights, East and West**  
By Adrian Karatnycky, Alexander J. Motyl and Adolph Sturmthal  
Transaction Books, 150 pp.,  
\$4.95

By Eric Lee

Karatnycky and Motyl are young writers who have been active as supporters of Soviet

and East European political prisoners. Karatnycky was chairman of the New York-based Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners. (He is also a socialist and a member of DSO-OC). Adolph Sturmthal is a prominent author of books and articles on the international labor movement and is professor emeritus of labor and industrial relations at the University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana. In the first half, Sturmthal explores the rights of workers and their unions in seven countries—the U.S., Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Sweden and Spain. "It is fair to say," concludes Sturmthal, "that there is now no democratic government in any industrial country of the West that wishes to destroy or dominate the unions."

But not so in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The second section of the book—to which is appended "Documents of Workers' Struggle in Eastern Europe"—is a thoughtful, well-researched indictment of the treatment of workers in the Soviet Union, Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia. (It is unfortunate that the authors did not choose as well to take on East Germany, which earlier this summer was reported to be experiencing a wave of strikes and protests on the Polish model. Nor do the more complicated—

and thus fascinating—cases of Yugoslavia and China come up.)

Karatnycky and Motyl selected four areas to explore in each of the four countries: the right to strike; the right to form trade unions; the defense of workers' rights by official trade unions; and internal union democracy. Workers who form trade unions (except for Poland) are jailed, harassed, exiled, or sent to psychiatric institutions. The official trade unions are "company unions," totally insensitive and unresponsive to the needs of workers. (They are, of course, quite responsive to the needs of the party bosses.) Except for Poland, there has been no right to strike anywhere in Eastern Europe. But there are strikes nonetheless.

In fact, the book paints a picture of unrest and strikes rarely portrayed in the Western media. In the USSR, we read of two 1969 strikes in Chervonograd and Kiev, a 1971 strike in Kopeyska, a 1972 strike in Kamenets-Podolsk, in Ukraine—all of these followed by severe repression. (Not mentioned by the authors was the historic 1980 strike of nearly 250,000 auto workers in Gorky and Togliatti.) In Rumania we read of the great coal miners' strike of Aug. 1, 1977, in which 35,000 miners participated. And then there is Poland.

The writing of this book was

marize his perspectives for 'general emancipation.' I find myself back in those years and the kinds of thinking that followed from them—a redivision of labor; unrestricted access to general education; a childhood centered on the capacity for development rather than geared to economic performance; a new communal life based on autonomous group activities; socialization (democratization) of the general process of knowledge and decision." He insists that democratic socialism everywhere must build upon and develop with a cultural revolution of such immense proportions that few of us realize the scope of the work to be done.

Reading Williams reminds us that we need all the patience, good humor, and anger that we can get for the "long revolution" ahead.

Joel Franks is a Ph.D. candidate in Comparative Culture at University of California, Irvine.

## CULTURE SHOCK

### SOAPS WEATHER SEA CHANGE

An American distributor has begun re-making U.S. TV game shows for English audiences, reports *Panorama* magazine. There *Family Feud* is known as *Family Fortunes*. To attract an upscale audience for this show where people guess what



answer 100 average people would make to a question, two peers of the realm were asked to appear with their wives and heirs. The peers guessed right less often than most contestants, but went away happy with their payoff—a

### SOME CALL IT PUBLIC

Exxon, Mobil, Arco and Gulf oil companies provided more than half of all corporate underwriting to PBS in 1980, and underwrite 72 percent of prime time programs on public TV. (TV Guide)

plug for their stately homes, open to the public for a fee.



ART **ENTERTAINMENT**

## ARTS POLICY

Task force's  
real work  
is now doneBy Arlene Goldbard  
and Don Adams

WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Presidential Task Force on the Arts and Humanities, 35 wealthy and prominent people appointed by Reagan, has after much fanfare come up with a resounding stamp of approval for the status quo, along with a touch up of Reagan's image and a few special measures to benefit the rich.

When last March Reagan recommended 50 percent budget cuts in the National Endowments for the Arts and Humanities, members of the arts establishment, many of them wealthy Republicans, protested. In June at the peak of the opposition Reagan announced the formation of the Task Force to consider "ways to stimulate increased support for the arts and humanities in the private sector," and examining "federal structures for support of art and scholarship," with attention to the Endowments.

The three chairs of the Task Force are actor Charlton Heston ("Chuck" to Task Force members); Daniel Terra ("Mr. Ambassador"), faithful Reagan campaigner and now ambassador-at-large for cultural affairs; and Hanna H. Gray ("Hanna" or "Madame Chairman," depending on the occasion), president of the University of Chicago. Most members are business executives, including two New Rightists—Richard Mellon Scaife, who gives around \$10 million a year to right-wing opinion-molding ventures; and Joseph Coors, the brewery magnate. Scaife and Coors teamed up several years ago to provide seed money for the Heritage Foundation, the right-wing think tank whose *Mandate for Leadership*, issued just after the election, provided a look at the administration's likely direction.

There is one black member of the Task Force, who has never said a word at meetings. Other members of the Task Force apparently have yet to make his acquaintance. On Aug. 9 member June Noble told a reporter that the Task Force "is a cross section. It has corporate executives, an actress, recipients..." She noted that Alvin Ailey was on the Task Force. However, the single black member of the Task Force is Arthur Mitchell of the Dance Theatre of Harlem.

The Task Force's bias has not gone unchallenged. After Charlton Heston early in the summer dismissed the grass-roots Expansion Arts program as "recreational," the National Urban Coalition demanded time for a presentation. On Aug. 15 in Los Angeles Coalition president Carl Holman, author Toni Morrison,

Teatro Campesino head Luis Valdez and musician Billy Taylor cautioned the Task Force against ignoring the contribution of minority artists. Heston told them the Task Force had a "time problem" and assured them that "no member of this Task Force would fail to recognize the degree to which ethnic minority artists and artists from geographically disadvantaged areas serve this plurality."

Far from considering new structures for arts funding, the Task Force was encouraged to endorse the status quo. At a July 10 meeting Heston delivered a message from the President: "In the President's opinion, the National Endowments are a basically effective mechanism for funding the arts and humanities."

**The real job.**

If the Task Force has not addressed the crisis in arts funding, it has served the administration's purposes admirably. It has helped Reagan's reputation as a patron of the arts. One Task Force member suggested a series of "Presidential Minutes" similar to the "Bicentennial Minutes." Instead of the networks' view of history it would give the President's view of our "national treasures." In the end the Task Force passed a resolution affirming its "understanding of the President's interest in the arts and humanities," and applauding "his involvement in any way he sees fit."

The Task Force has also given its seal of approval to the most conservative forces within the Endowments. The NEA and NEH have never been hotbeds of populist sentiment. Both agencies put a small fraction of their budgets into community based programs,



Task Force member Joseph Coors spoke at the 1980 dedication of Washington, D.C., offices for right-wing think tank Heritage Foundation. Coors is a Heritage board member.

and it took years of pressure for community groups to get that far. Now Endowment elitists have come out of the closet.

In a paper submitted to the Task Force by the National Council on the Arts, the presidentially-appointed advisory board for the NEA, it was noted that in 1980 6.2 percent of the nation's arts organizations received 51.6 percent of the Endowment's dollars, and this proportion has been fixed for about a decade. In other words, the Endowment has been funding "national treasures" for years, under a system it calls "funding the best." If the Task Force's recommendations are adopted—and no legislation is necessary to adopt them, just a slight shift in

attitude—even the slight gains made by community-based arts groups could be undone.

The Task Force has also proposed a series of special tax benefits for the wealthy who made gifts to arts institutions. Leonard Silverstein, president of the board of the National Symphony Orchestra, chaired the Task Force's subcommittee on tax-exempt private giving. At its final meeting on Sept. 16 in Washington, D.C., Silverstein noted that upcoming tax breaks for the rich reduce their incentive to make charitable contributions. So additional incentives were in order, such as extra tax breaks for the second \$1,000 contributed by an individual and the first \$100,00 by a corporation.

Not once did the Task Force discuss the effect of budget cuts on organizations without wealthy patrons. CETA, the job creation and neighborhood development program that has been the biggest single source of support for new community arts programs, was never mentioned.

The Task Force's final report is due in October. But there will be few surprises in it. The Task Force's mission has already been accomplished.

Arlene Goldbard and Don Adams coordinate the Neighborhood Arts Programs National Organizing Committee, P.O. Box 3036, Washington, D.C. 20010. Thanks go to Naomi Glauberman, who helped research the article.

## I don't know much about culture, but...

President Reagan will probably name Francis S.M. ("Frank") Hodsoll, principal policy deputy to White House Chief of Staff James Baker III, to head the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA). Hodsoll's qualifications for the job don't have much to do with art.

Hodsoll, 43, has been making official appearances as White House representative to arts-related meetings. Calls to the White House to investigate speculations about the Reagan administration's arts policies and appointments have been referred to Hodsoll's office. (He also coordinates the Reagan task force on immigration.)

Hodsoll, from Los Angeles, is a lawyer with degrees from

Yale, Cambridge and Stanford Law School. He entered the foreign service in 1966, after two years with the New York law firm Sullivan and Cromwell. He acted as assistant program adviser at the Supreme Allied Command in Brussels from 1967-69 and returned to Nixon's State Department as a political affairs officer until 1961. He was assigned as a detailee to the Council on Environmental Quality (1972-73), then served as special assistant to the administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency. With Ford in the White House, Hodsoll moved to the Department of Commerce (1974-77), where he served briefly as then-Undersecretary James Baker's executive assistant before becoming Deputy

Assistant Secretary for Energy and Strategic Resource Policy. He returned to the State Department in 1977, where he directed the office of Law of the Sea negotiations, later becoming Special U.S. Deputy for Nonproliferation. He resigned in August 1980 to serve the Reagan-Bush campaign as coordinator of preparation for the debates.

The extent of Hodsoll's arts involvement appears to be some undergraduate activities at Yale (The Post mentioned coordinating some college choral concerts at Carnegie Hall). Chances are, his inexperience in arts administration will be forgiven by the arts establishment, which takes hope from Hodsoll's White House connections. There is little

question about his Senate confirmation once nominated. Hodsoll can be expected to cleave to the Reagan line and support "our national treasures," at the expense of cultural projects in poor communities, rural areas, minority neighborhoods and work that focuses on controversial themes.

Insiders speculate that Hodsoll is being rewarded for faithful campaign service with a "plum" position that doesn't carry much weight in the Reagan administration. The Departments of Energy and Labor have already been handed to a dentist and a building contractor on the same basis.

—Don Adams and Arlene Goldbard



# South

Continued from page 20

possibility of being involved in a sit-in or freedom ride. It was more or less a discussion about the history of non-violence. I did sense that it was going to lead to something; we got into socio-drama—"If something happened to you, what would you do?"—the whole question of civil disobedience. And we dealt a great deal not just with the teaching of Gandhi, but also with what Jesus had to say about love and nonviolence and the relationship between individuals, both on a personal and group basis, and even the relationship between nations.

I once described the early civil rights movement as a religious phenomenon. And I still believe that. I think in order

for people to do what they did, and to go into places where it was like going into hell fire, you needed something to go on. It was like guerrilla warfare in some communities, some of the things people did. And I'm not just talking about the students, but the community people, indigenous people. It had to be based on some strong conviction, or, I think, religious conviction.

I remember on the Freedom Rides in 1961, when we got to Montgomery... personally, I thought it was the end. It was like death, you know, death itself might have been a welcome pleasure. Just to see and witness the type of violence... the people that were identified with us were just acting on that strong, abiding element of faith.

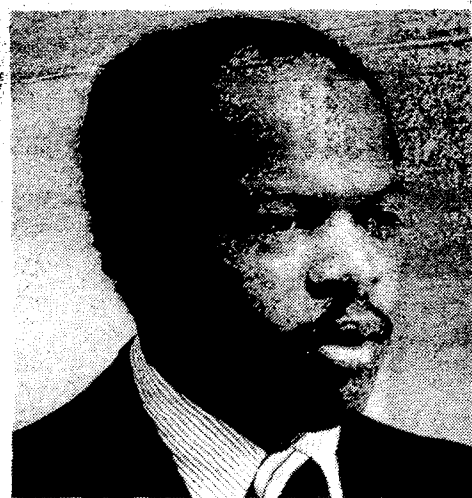
In Birmingham, we stayed in the bus station all night with a mob, the Klan, on the outside. On the day we arrived, Bull Connor literally took us off the bus and put us in protective custody in the Bir-

mingham City Jail. We were in the jail Wednesday night, all day Thursday and Thursday night. On Friday morning around one o'clock he took us out of jail and took us back to the Alabama-Tennessee state line and dropped us off. There were seven of us, an all-black group. He dropped us off and said, "You can make it back to Nashville, there's a bus station around here somewhere." That's what he said. And just left us there! I have never been so frightened in my life.

We located a house where an old black family lived. They must have been in their 70s. They'd heard about the Freedom Rides and they were frightened. They didn't want to do it, but they let us in and we stayed there. The old man got in his old pick-up truck when the stores opened and went and got some food. You see, we had been on a hunger strike and hadn't had anything to eat. He went to two or three different places and got bologna, bread and viennas—all that sort of junk food, and milk and stuff. And we ate.

We talked to Diane Nash, one of the most prominent leaders of the Nashville sit-in movement, and she said that "other packages had been shipped by other means," meaning that students had left Nashville on the way to Birmingham to join the Freedom Ride by private car and by train. We just assumed the telephone lines were always tapped. She sent a car to pick us up, and we returned to Birmingham and went straight to Rev. Shuttlesworth's home [Rev. J. Fred Shuttlesworth, a Birmingham minister, was active in the SCLC, and president for many years of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF)] to meet the new people. More students from Fisk, ABT, and Tennessee State had joined the ride as well as two white students from Peabody. The total number was about 100.

At 5:30 we tried to get a bus from Birmingham to Montgomery, and—I'll never forget it—this bus driver said, "I only have one life to give, and I'm not going to give it to CORE or the



John Lewis today

NAACP." This was after the burning of the bus at Anniston and after the beating of the CORE riders on Mother's Day. So we stayed in the bus station. At 8:30 another bus was supposed to leave, and that bus wouldn't go either. We just stayed there all that night. Early the next morning Herb Kaplow, then a reporter for NBC, came to tell us he understood Bobby Kennedy had been talking with the Greyhound people and apparently we would be able to get a bus later. So we got on the bus about 8:30 Saturday morning. The arrangement that Kennedy had made was that every 15 miles or so there would be a state trooper on the highway and a plane would fly over the bus, to take us into Montgomery. An official of Greyhound was supposed to be on the bus also, but I don't actually recall that there was one.

I took a seat in the very front behind the driver along with Jim Zwerg [Jim Zwerg was an exchange student at Fisk. When the Freedom Riders reached Montgomery, he was badly beaten and left lying in the street]. On the way to Montgomery we saw no sign of the state trooper cars or the plane. It was a strange feeling. For almost four years I had traveled that way from Montgomery to Birmingham. This time, we didn't see anyone. It was the eeriest feeling of my life. When we reached Montgomery, we

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Jobs, Energy and Economic Growth. Conference on Progressive Approaches to Reindustrialization, Calumet College, Whiting, Ind. (25 mi. east of Chicago). Co-sponsored by NAM and DSOC. Speakers: Michael Harrington, Barry Commoner, Roberta Lynch. Workshops include: Crisis in Steel; Synthetic Fuels: Reindustrialization and Energy; Plant Closings and the Black Community; Job Loss and Women Workers. Panel: Reindustrialization and Public Control of the Economy. Cost: \$15. For more information contact: Bill Barclay, NAM, 3244 N. Clark, Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 871-7700.

#### October 9

"Democratic Communications: Some Ideas and Proposals." Speaker is Ralph Suter, an organizer of the Abortion Rights Petition Campaign and author of a plan for a democratically owned and edited mass-circulation general interest periodical. Discussion following. 828 Davis St., Evanston (near Davis El stop). 475-1095. For edited transcript, send \$1.00 to Box 8117, Chicago 60680.

### BUFFALO, NY

#### October 3

Union Democracy Working Conference: "Your Rights in Your Union." O'Brien Hall, Amherst campus, Law School—SUNY. Speakers include: H.W. Benson, James Atleson, Robert Rabin, Judith Schneider, Frank Schonfeld and others. For details contact: Association for Union Democracy, 215 Park Ave. South, New York, NY 10003. (212) 473-0606.

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#### October 2

The New York Institute for Social Therapy

and Research presents "Politics and Psychology: The Subjective Problems of a New Movement" as part of its Fall Speakers Series. Speakers include: Gilberto Gerena-Valentin, City Councilman, and Fred Newman, New Alliance Party. Friday at 8:15 p.m., The Chapel, Main Hall, Teachers College, 120th Street at Broadway. Admission: \$3.50 employed; \$2.50 unemployed. For more information, call: (212) 663-5056.

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#### October 21-22

Boston DSOC Fall courses: "Community Organizing for Social Change" with Peter Dreier (Tufts University), starts October 21. "The Left in Electoral Politics" with Ray Dooley (campaign manager, State Rep. Tom Gallagher), starts Oct. 22. Contact: DSOC, 120 Tremont St., Room 401, Boston, MA 02108. (617) 426-9026.

### BINGHAMTON, NY

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didn't even see anyone outside the bus station. We started stepping off, and the media people began gathering around. Then just out of the blue, hundreds of people started to converge on the bus station. They started beating the camera people; they literally beat them down. I remember one guy took a huge camera away from a photographer and knocked him down with it.

People started running in different directions. The two white female students tried to get in a cab, and the black driver told them he couldn't take white people and just drove off. They just started running down the street, and John Seigenthaler got between them and the mob. Another part of the mob turned on us, mostly black fellows. We had no choice but to just stand there. I was hit over the head with a crate, one of those wooden soda crates. The last thing I remember was the Attorney General of Alabama, serving me with an injunction prohibiting interracial groups from using public transportation in the state of Alabama while I was still lying on the ground. Yes, I was afraid. I was afraid.



You know during the workshops in Nashville we never thought or heard that much about what would happen to us personally or individually. And we never really directed our feelings of hostility toward the opposition. I think most of the people that came through those early

days saw the opposition and saw ourselves, really, the participants in the movement, as victims of the system. And we wanted to change the system.

The underlying philosophy was the whole idea of redemptive suffering—suffering that in itself might help to redeem

the larger society. We talked in terms of our goal, our dream, being the beloved community, the open society, the society that is at peace with itself, where you forget about race and color and see people as human beings. We dealt a great deal with the question of the means and ends.

I really felt that the people who were in the movement—and this may be short-sighted and biased on my part—were the only truly integrated society and, in a sense, the only true church in America. Because you had a community of believers, people who really believed. They were committed to a faith.

I was wrong, I think, to feel that way, because you shouldn't become so definitive as to believe that you have an edge on the truth. I think you have to stay open. But, you know, in the process of growing and developing, people go through different experiences.

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# The Gospel of

By John Lewis,  
With Jim Sessions and  
Sue Thrasher

The editors of *Southern Exposure* have assembled a grassroots history of childhood and youth in the South that spans two centuries and several cultures and political struggles. Now published by Pantheon and edited by Chris Mayfield as *Growing Up Southern* (\$17.95), the book has a variety of subject matter matched by evocative photographs. This is an excerpt from one of the entries.

**I**N THE WINTER OF 1959-60, A GROUP of young, black college students in Nashville, Tenn., appeared at a segregated lunch counter one Saturday afternoon and asked to be served. All that spring, they filled the jails and the nation with their freedom songs, sparking similar actions and demonstrations across the South.

By the spring of 1963, many of the students had moved on to help organize other Southern cities. Still, the Nashville movement persisted. The Nashville Christian Leadership Council (NCLC) held mass meetings regularly, and the local chapter of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) continued to demonstrate for open public accommodations.

Later that spring, John Lewis became national chairman of SNCC. He was in and out of jail constantly over the next few years, and was beaten badly at the Edmund Pettus Bridge in the first attempted Selma-to-Montgomery march. Yet his commitment to nonviolence never wavered. Lewis directed the Voter Education Project, registering black voters in the South, between 1970-76, and then headed the domestic affairs section of ACTION. Presently he works with the National Consumer Co-op Bank in Atlanta.

I'm the third child in a family of ten. I grew up on a farm near Troy, Alabama. When I was four years old, we moved from where we worked as tenant farmers to a new farm about a half a mile away. My father had saved enough money in 1944 to buy 102 acres of land for a little more than \$300; they still live there today.

I really don't know where my interest in religion came from. It could be my family; we all went to a Baptist church—my mother, my father, most of my first cousins. My grandfather was a deacon. When I had a belief in Santa Claus, one of my uncles had Santa Claus bring me a Bible for Christmas. It had an impact. And somewhere along the way I grew up with the idea of wanting to be a minister. It was well known in the family. One of my aunts would call me preacher.

I have six brothers and a host of first cousins about my same age; we all sort of grew up together. It was like a big fellowship—really an extended family. When we went to Sunday school and church it was the whole family, not just the immediate family.

We didn't hear much discussion about

civil rights. It was strictly two separate worlds, one black and one white. When we'd go into the town of Troy, we saw signs, "Colored only," "White only." The water fountain in the five-and-ten store. At the courthouse. Couldn't use the county library. I don't recall hearing anybody speak out against it. The closest thing was to hear the minister say something like, "We are all brothers and sisters in Jesus Christ." Or through the Sunday school lesson, particularly those lessons based on the New Testament, it came through: "In Jesus we are one."

In 1955, at the beginning of the Montgomery bus boycott, when I started taking note of what was happening there, we didn't have a subscription to the Montgomery paper. But my grandfather had one, and after he read his paper, we got it two or three days later.

We didn't have electricity during those early years. We didn't get it until much later. We had a large radio, one with these huge batteries, the kind that have to be knocked open with a hammer when they decay. There was a local station in Montgomery, a soul station, black-oriented, but I don't think it was black-owned. Every Sunday morning a local minister in Montgomery would preach, and one Sunday I heard Martin Luther King. Now this was before the bus boycott. The name of the sermon was something like

For some the civil rights movement was, at the time, "the only true church in America."

"Paul's Letter to American Christians." He made it very relevant to the particular issues and concerns of the day. That had an impact. I also heard other ministers on the station.

The bus boycott had a tremendous impact on my life. It just sort of lifted me, gave me a sense of hope. I had a resentment of the dual system, of segregation. You could clearly see the clean new buses that the white children had that were going to Banks Junior High and the buses that were taking white children to Pike County High School. In the state of Alabama, most of the black high schools were called training schools.

I remember in '54, the Supreme Court decision, I felt maybe in a year or so we would have desegregated schools. But nothing happened.

Then Montgomery came in 1955.

It was like a light. I saw a guy like Martin Luther King, a

young, well-educated, Baptist minister, who was really using religion. The boycott lasted more than 300 days; it had a tremendous effect.

My greatest desire at that time was to go to school—to get an education, to study religion and philosophy. Somehow, I knew that this was the direction I must travel in order to become a prepared minister and to be a good religious leader.

I had a fantastic urge to go to Morehouse College. I'd heard of Morehouse, and I knew that Dr. King had gone there. I had my homeroom teacher get a catalogue and an application from Morehouse. But there was no way. I did not know anybody. I didn't have any money. It was just impossible. So this was a dream that was never fulfilled. My mother had been doing some work for a white lady as a domestic, and one day she brought home a paper. It was something like the *Baptist Home Mission*, a Southern Baptist publication. In this paper, I saw a little notice for American Baptist Theological Seminary (ABT). So in September, 1957, I went away to Nashville. That was my first time to leave Alabama for any period of time. I was 17 years old.

I was pulled into a sort of interracial setting. They had white professors on the staff, and white Baptist ministers from the city would come in for chapel. There would be visiting professors from time to time. I think my resentment toward the dual system of segregation and racial discrimination—probably the tempo of my resentment—increased at that time.

At that time, Little Rock was going on, September of '57. There were many things happening, and because it was an everyday occurrence, I became very conscious of it. I spent a great deal of time during this period preaching what some people call the social gospel. I just felt that the ministry and religion should be a little more relevant. Some of my classmates would tease me about that.

I went back to American Baptist in the fall and continued my studies. And then I started attending mass meetings sponsored by the NAACP. The Nashville Christian Leadership Council (NCLC), which was a chapter of SCLC, started sponsoring some meetings on Sunday night at a church downtown.

Later, under the direction of Jim Lawson (Jim Lawson gained national prominence in 1959 when he was expelled from Vanderbilt Divinity School for leading nonviolent training workshops. He later became the pastor of Centenary Methodist Church in Memphis, Tennessee, and played an active role in the 1968 Memphis garbage workers' strike where King was shot), a divinity student at Vanderbilt, NCLC started nonviolent workshops every Tuesday night. For a long period of time, I was the only student from ABT that attended. It was like a class; we would go and study the philosophy and discipline of nonviolence. There was very little discussion during the early workshops about segregation or racial discrimination or about the

Continued on page 18

A farm woman recalls her early life in a memoir from *GROWING UP SOUTHERN*.

